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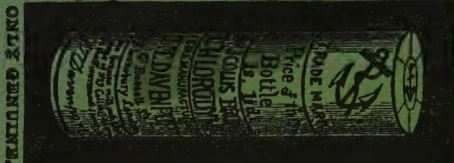
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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY, 1891.

ART. I.—THE PENAL LAWS—AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

THE great dividing line in the religious history of this country is the year 1535—the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII. From the days of St. Augustine till then, England was in full communion with the See of Rome, and her laws recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. The “Act concerning the King’s Highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same” (26 Henry VIII. c. 1), severed the nation from the unity of Christendom, and transferred the Papal jurisdiction to “the Imperial Crown of this realm,” with which, except during the brief reign of Philip and Mary, it has since remained united. In popular language, this fact is expressed by the statement that up to the year 1535 England was Catholic and has since been Protestant. And the statement is perfectly accurate. Mr. Bryce has well observed: “The whole fabric of mediæval Christianity rested upon the idea of the Visible Church. Such a Church could be in nowise local or limited. To acquiesce in the establishment of National Churches would have appeared to those men, as it must always appear when scrutinised, contrary to the nature of a religious body, opposed to the genius of Christianity. . . . Had this plan, on which so many have dwelt with complacency in later times, been proposed either to the primitive Church in its adversity, or to the dominant Church of the ninth century, it would have been rejected with horror, but since there were as yet no nations, the plan was one which did not, and could not,

present itself.”* Unquestionably, the idea of the Church Catholic dominated the European mind from the very introduction of the Christian religion until the close of the Middle Ages. Protestantism represents—such is its inner meaning—the disallowance of that idea. The essence of the movement called the Reformation, in all the different forms which it assumed in various European countries, is not the denial of one or another article of the Catholic Creed, but the rejection of ecclesiastical unity and universality, and of the Supreme Pastorate which is the *Sacramentum Unitatis*. Hence the appropriateness of the name Protestant because it implied nothing positive and might be used, indifferently, by all who protested against and threw off the authority of the Church.†

The special characteristic of the English Reformation is that it attributed to the Crown the whole of the authority which it denied to the Pope. It is on this account that I have called the year 1535 the dividing line in the religious history of England. Archbishop Tait insists that what he terms “the national settlement” dates from the previous year, when by the Act of the 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, “appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were first forbidden, and the rule of appeal to the king, from the Archbishops’ Courts, the principle of which has ever since been maintained, was finally settled.”‡ But the change wrought by Henry VIII. went far beyond this prohibition of appeals to the Apostolic See. It involved his assumption of the entire spiritual jurisdiction, the whole ecclesiastical authority previously exercised in this country by the Supreme Pontiff. It is declared by the 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, that “the king, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this realm, as well the style and title thereof, and all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining, and shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to

* “The Holy Roman Empire,” p. 95, eighth edition. On the rise of the European nations, see my “Chapters in European History,” vol. i. pp. 106–110.

† On this subject see Möhler’s “Kirchengeschichte,” vol. iii. p. 132.

‡ Preface to Broderick and Freemantle’s “Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council,” p. 10. I quote Archbishop Tait’s words as I find them. But as a matter of fact, appeals to Rome were not first forbidden by this statute. They had been forbidden in “causes testamentary or matrimonial, divorce, tithes, oblations or obventions,” by a statute of the previous year—viz., the 24 Henry VIII. c. 12.

visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend. All such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, and restrained, or amended: any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding." "Every man," observes Professor Brewer,

who cares to read the history of those times feels at once that the Royal Supremacy] is the question; this is the keystone of the Reformation; all other topics dwindle into insignificance beside it. This is the real point at issue between the advocates of the old and the new system; this, and not purgatory, not pilgrimages, not transubstantiation. . . . This has spread its broad shadow across the range of centuries. It has fallen like a thing of evil on Romanists and Puritans alike. If it brought More and Fisher to the scaffold in the reign of Henry, it wrung the hearts and wasted the life-blood of Cartwright and the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth. If it hung like a sword over the heads of the Tudor bishops, and prevented all relapse to Rome, it equally drove out from the pale of the National Church every conscientious Nonconformist who was a zealous Protestant in everything with the exception of this one Article. It kept the Church obedient to the Sovereign, and to the first principles of the Reformation. . . . No distinction between civil and religious crimes] existed at the time in the mind either of Sovereign or of people; the king, as spiritual head of the Church, assumed to himself the right of punishing such offences, not as contrary to the laws of the State, but as contrary to what he was pleased to determine was the law of God—offences as much against his spiritual as against his temporal power. He never stopped to consider how far this or that creed might be excused or condemned, and its asserters brought to the scaffold as rebels or as heretics. That was a distinction first set up by the subtle statesmen of the reign of Elizabeth, when persecution for religion was growing unpopular. It had no place in the mind of Henry. The passing of the Six Articles, and the punishment of those who transgressed them, the persecution of Tyndal, and the death of Frith and Barnes, all show this. When he transferred to himself the supremacy of the Church, he transferred with it all the powers which the Church had ever exercised for the punishment of heresy or disobedience to its authority. If the Pope was the Bishop of bishops, so was he; if the Pope could of himself determine controversies of faith, so did he. Whether the doctrine of purgatory, or the sacrament of penance, or the worship of saints were or were not to constitute part of the creed, and of the teachings of the Church of England, depended upon the King alone. It is true that he did not administer the sacraments and ordain priests and bishops; but if any man had questioned his power to do so, he would have

incurred the penalty of high treason. "A bishop," says Cranmer, "may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them." In common with other reformers, Cranmer looked upon all spiritual functions as absolutely dependent on the will of the king, as temporal commissions, like those of any other magistrate.*

It would be an error to regard the momentous change thus effected in 1535 as being of sudden incidence. The contest between the Papal power and the regal power had been waged, with longer or briefer truces, from the days of the Norman Conquest.† One of its acutest phases was in the reign of the Second Henry, on whose behalf we find claims made anticipating, by nearly four hundred years, the pretensions successfully vindicated by the Eighth. Reginald FitzUrse, when he was disputing with Becket, just before the murder, asked him from whom he had the archbishopric? Thomas replied, "The spirituals I have from God and my lord the Pope; the temporals and possessions from my lord the king." "Do you not," asked Reginald, "acknowledge that you hold the whole from the king?" "No," was the prelate's answer. "We have to render the king the things that are the king's, and to God the things that are God's." "The words of the Archbishop," writes Bishop Stubbs, "embody the commonly received idea; the words of Reginald, although they do not represent the theory of Henry II., contain the germ of the doctrine which was formulated under Henry VIII.":‡ a doctrine, it may be observed, set forth in the new form of the Oath of Homage prescribed by that monarch for his bishops: "I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty."§

* "English Studies," pp. 302-32.

† The first of "the statutes of præmunire and provisoes" was passed in the thirty-fifth year of Edward I. Its object was to prevent the Court of Rome from presenting or collating to any bishopric or living in England. The Act commonly called "the statute of præmunire" is the 16 Ric. II. c. 5, which provides that whoever procures at Rome or elsewhere any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, which touch the king, shall be put out of the king's protection, and shall be attached by his body to answer to the king and his council. *Præmunire*, corrupted from *præmonere*, is the initial word in the first sentence of the writ to which it gives its name.

‡ "Constitutional History," vol. iii. p. 294.

§ Bishop Stubbs (*ubi supra*) distinguishes between three kinds of "spiritualia": (1) *Spiritualia characteris vel ordinis*; (2) *Spiritualia ministerii vel jurisdictionis*; and (3) *Spiritualia beneficii*, "the ecclesiastical revenues arising from other sources than land." These last, he maintains, are the spiritualities referred to in the Oath of Homage, "the first and second never being in the royal hands to bestow." This learned writer must be congratulated that he did not live in the days when "the national settlement"

"The royal supremacy," writes Professor Brewer, "was now to triumph after years of effort, apparently fruitless and often purposeless. That which had been present to the English mind for centuries was now to come forward in a distinct consciousness, armed with a power that nothing could resist. Yet, that it should come forth in such a form is marvellous. All events had prepared the way for the king's temporal supremacy; opposition to Papal authority was familiar to men, but a spiritual supremacy, an ecclesiastical headship, as it separated Henry VIII. from all his predecessors by an immeasurable interval, so was it without precedent and at variance with all tradition."*

The explanation of this triumph of the Royal supremacy is largely supplied by the general course of events and tendencies of thought during the two preceding centuries of European history. In particular, it may be observed that the authority of the Apostolic See had been much impaired by the great schism. And although when that breach of Catholic unity had been definitely healed, the Papacy had put on the semblance of its former greatness, it never recovered its predominance in the European public order. There was, as Ranke has pointed out, "throughout all Christendom, in the South as well as in the North, a general struggle to curtail the rights of the Pope;" and "Royalty began to make far greater claims than it had ever made before."† In this country, the authority exercised by the Tudor Sovereigns was such, both in kind and degree, as it is very difficult for us, in these days, adequately to conceive of. "The prerogative was absolute," writes Professor Brewer, "both in theory and practice. . . . Government was identified with the will of the Sovereign, his word was law for the conscience as well as the conduct of his subjects. . . . Any wrong, any injustice, any royal violation of the law, however flagrant, was a more tolerable evil than disobedience or opposition to the will of the prince, however just or sacred the cause. For that, in the temper of the times, people

of religion was made by Henry VIII., or remade by Elizabeth. His denial that the Sovereign is the source of the jurisdiction exercised by the Anglican Episcopate would then have cost him dear.

* "Letters and State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. cvii. (Intro.). So in the 1 Philip and Mary, c. 8, it is asserted, "The title or style of supremacy or supreme head of the Church of England, and of Ireland, or of either of them, never was, nor could be, justly or lawfully attributed or acknowledged to any king or sovereign governor of this realm." Dodd has some very judicious remarks upon the "mistake of several Protestant lawyers, who pretend that king Henry VIII. did not assume unto himself any more ecclesiastical power than what had been claimed and practised by his predecessors in former days, both under the British, Saxon, and Norman periods." See his "Church History of England," part i. art. 3 (vol. i. p. 249, in Tierney's edition).

† "Die Römischen Päpste," vol. i. pp. 39, 42.

had no sympathy; the will of the prince, however expressed, as Romanist or Protestant, in passing the Six Articles or beheading More, in divorcing Queen Katherine or marrying Anna Boleyn, was to be respected. Innocence itself was to plead guilty, or suffer as guilty if the king required it.”* And this vast power was practically without check or limitation. The Wars of the Roses had swept away the old nobility, who, in the absence of constitutional restraints, kept down the extension of the royal prerogative, and the new race of ministers were the mere creatures of the Sovereign, usually taken from a low rank in life, flourishing in his smile, annihilated by his frown, made or unmade at his will or caprice. Again, the patrimony of the Crown was immense, and the servility of Parliament, together with the system of forced loans and benevolences, rendered its pecuniary resources almost limitless.† How utterly subservient Parliament was to the royal pleasure, how destitute of one spark of the spirit of freedom, how void of any, even the slightest, feeling for the liberties of the subject, a glance at the Statute-book is sufficient to show. Its functions were practically confined to registering the edicts of the Sovereign, and to voting the supplies which he required.‡ Nor was his power tempered by a force which in this age has to be reckoned with, even in despotic countries. “Public opinion” can hardly be said to have existed in the days of the Tudors. The influence most resembling it was that wielded by the ecclesiastical order. But under Henry VIII. this influence almost ceased to act as a check upon the authority of the Crown. Professor Brewer dates its total extinction as a barrier upon arbitrary power at the death of Wolsey.§ At the end of the fifteenth century the Church in England, as in the greater part of Europe, was in a lamentable condition. There is a mass of evidence that multitudes of Christians lived in almost total ignorance of the doctrines and in almost complete neglect of the duties of their faith. The Pater Noster and Ave Maria formed

* “Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, &c.,” vol. ii. part i. p. cclxxiv. (Intro.).

† “The king had the entire and exclusive control of the money paid into the Exchequer. The country was called upon for loans and subsidies, and the Parliament determined the amount; but it never presumed to regulate the expenditure of the money so collected, or even dictate how it should be applied.”—*Ibid.* p. xciii.

‡ “The king was the only representative of the nation, Parliament was little more than an institution for granting subsidies and regulating the duties on hats and caps. No ambassador or political agent cared in the least what Parliament might or might not think of his conduct. . . . His sole object was to please the king and perhaps his minister. . . . The entire personality of the nation was wrapped up in the king.”—*Ibid.* p. lxxv.

§ “Letters and Papers, &c.,” vol. ii. part i. p. cclxxiii. (Intro.).

the sum of the knowledge of their religion possessed by many; and not a few passed through the world without receiving any sacrament save that of Baptism. The spirituality, from the head downwards, had fallen from their high estate. The religious were no longer animated by their first fervour, and among the secular clergy there was much corruption of life. Pope Adrian VI. has left on record his conviction that the troubles which he was called to face had arisen "*propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiæ prælatorum.*" In the Holy See itself, he declares, there had been for many years past, "*multa abominanda, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis et omnia denique in perversum; mutata.*"* Unquestionable is it that in most Continental countries Protestantism—to quote the words of Möhler—"arose, partly, from the opposition to much that was undeniably bad and defective in the Church."† In the Anglican Reformation, indeed, it is impossible to trace any religious motive. Lord Macaulay is well warranted when he states, "Of those who had any important share in bringing it about, Ridley is perhaps the only person who did not consider it a mere political job; and Ridley did not play a very important part."‡ And the clergy in their low estate, with slight hold upon the people, and practically severed from the protection of the Holy See,§ were unable to offer any effective resistance to the authors of the schism. Resist, indeed, they did. Nothing is more opposed to the fact than the assertion still made, from time to time, that the renunciation of the authority of the Pope was their free act, that their submission to the royal supremacy was voluntary. It is difficult to imagine more monstrous chicane than that by which the king involved them in the penalties of a *præmunire*—imprisonment for life and forfeiture of property—for submission to the legatine authority which he had himself, by royal warrant, permitted Cardinal Wolsey to exercise. And our annals record no grosser act of tyranny than his extracting from the Convocation of Canterbury, as the price of their pardon, a subsidy of £100,000—equal at least to a million of our money—together with their acknowledgment that he was

* In his letter to his legate, Chieragato, as to which see Pallavicino, l. ii. c. vii. The original of the letter is given in "*Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum,*" printed in 1595.

† "*Der Protestantismus entstand theils aus der Entgegensetzung gegen unlängbar viel Schlechtes und Fehlbarhaftes in der Kirche, und darin besteht sein Gutes.*"—"Symbolik," p. 11 (5th ed.).

‡ "*Works,*" vol. v. p. 172.

§ See Professor Brewer's very able account of the affair of Dr. Standish. "In the reign of Henry VIII.," he observes, "the Papal authority had ceased to be more than a mere form, a decorum to be observed."—"Letters and State Papers, &c.," vol. ii. part i. p. ccxxvi. (Intro.).

“the singular protector, sole and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, also supreme head of the Church and clergy of England.”* “The clergy,” writes Mr. Gairdner, “were altogether helpless. Under the existing law of *præmunire* they were quite at the king’s mercy. It was an engine that might be turned against them capriciously, on the most slender pretexts, and, knowing its power, they may well have been glad to purchase immunity for the future by a frank recognition of the supremacy to which they were already compelled to bow in practice.”† Again, the denial of Convocation in 1534 that “the Bishop of Rome had any greater authority conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture than any other foreign bishop,” was merely the enforced answer to a royal question.‡ The terrorised priesthood

* The Northern Convocation adopted the same language, and voted the king £18,840.—Lingard’s “History of England,” vol. ii. c. viii.

† “Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.,” vol. v. p. 15. Mr. Gairdner had previously observed: “Even with the reservation contained in the words ‘quantum per Christi legem licet,’ the concession was made with considerable reluctance, but, at the Archbishop’s suggestion, it was passed unanimously. It was repented almost as soon as it was made; for however theoretically defensible might be the title to which they had agreed, and whatever pains they might have taken to guard against misconstruction, the clergy could not but feel the moral disadvantage at which they now stood in having yielded at all.”

‡ On this subject it is worth while to quote the following passage from the extremely able essay, by Dr. Lingard, “Did the Church of England Reform Herself?” contributed to the DUBLIN REVIEW of May 1840 (vol. iii. of the First Series):

“To the Lower House of Convocation was proposed, by order of the king, the following question: ‘Has any greater authority in this realm been given by God in the Scripture to the Bishop of Rome than to any foreign bishop?’ The reader will observe the artful structure of this question. Avowedly, there is no direct mention of the Bishop of Rome in the Scripture, no specification of the spiritual authority given to the successor of St. Peter in particular; no, nor even of the authority given to the successors of the Apostles in general. On those subjects the Scripture is silent. Not one of the sacred writers has thought of describing in detail the plan of Church government which the Apostles established, to be observed after their death. For that we must have recourse, as the Oxford teachers admit, to tradition. Hence it was natural to expect that to confine the question to the doctrine expressly taught in the Scripture would serve the same purpose as the introduction of the qualifying clause, ‘as far as allowed by the law of Christ,’ had served in the recognition of the king’s supremacy. Many a man of timid mind, though he might in reality admit the authority of the Pope, might reconcile the denial of it with his conscience by contending that he had only denied that it was directly taught in the Scripture. It was not, however, before the last day of the Session, after the Bills abrogating the Papal jurisdiction had passed the two Houses, and when the king made them the law of the land by giving to them the royal assent, that the Lower House made its report to the Archbishop. Thirty-four members answered negatively, four affirmatively, one doubtfully. The same question was subsequently put to the two Universities, and from both were obtained such answers as the king required, from Cambridge on the 2nd of May, from Oxford on the 7th of June” (p. 345).

dared not return any other. "It was as easy," writes Harpsfield, "for the king to overthrow this brittle and fragile clergy as it is for a lusty, sturdy, strong man to give his adversary a fall in wrestling whom he hath long kept in prison, with coarse and thin diet, and hard lodging withal." *

So much in explanation of the great change effected by the Act 26 Henry VIII. c. 1. The other religious legislation of that monarch may be regarded as preparatory to, or supplementary of this enactment. It is extremely probable, indeed we may take it as certain, that when Henry entered upon his contest with the Papacy, in the matter of the divorce, he by no means contemplated the separation of his kingdom from the Holy See.† But we, judging after the event, can easily discern that the very existence of the Papal supremacy was involved in the king's matrimonial cause. Professor Brewer justly observes: "If Pope Clement had yielded to the menaces or flattery of the king and his ministers, if he had parted with any portion of his jurisdiction and authority at their desire, in so important a case as this, he would not only have sacrificed to his own wishes or personal convenience the rights and dignity of his office, but would have completely betrayed that ecclesiastical jurisdiction and order which he was bound to uphold, and of which he was the professed head and representative." ‡ And, indeed, it was evident to one of the wisest and best of men, found in those evil days—"a light shining in a dark place"—that the course of events could not but lead to this issue, Whence, and of what kind, is the Pope's jurisdiction? When Sir Thomas More, we read, had been found guilty on the indictment charging him with having traitorously endeavoured to deprive the king of his title of head of the Church, he said: "I have, by the grace of God, been always a Catholic, never out of the communion of the Roman Pontiff. But I had heard it said, at times, that the authority of the Roman Pontiff was certainly lawful and to be respected,

* "Narrative of the Divorce," p. 96. (Printed by Lord Acton for private circulation.)

† Professor Brewer writes: "To this result he was brought by slow and silent steps. He had so long threatened to break with the Pope that he was compelled, at last, to make his own threats good. For his own purposes he had done so much to encourage attacks upon the Papacy, to question its dispensing power, to menace its authority, that to retrace his steps, had he felt inclined to attempt it, was impossible. The marriage with Anne Boleyn completed the recoil. He had stooped down from monarchy to match with a plebeian. He had forfeited his rank among the rulers of Christendom. It mattered little to take one step further, and sacrifice his place among Christian rulers, whose dignity and rule were endorsed and authenticated by the Pope."—"Letters and State Papers, &c.," vol. iv. p. dclxiv. (Intro.).

‡ "Letters and State Papers, &c.," vol. iv. p. dclxxxi. (Intro.).

but still an authority derived from human law, and not standing upon a divine prescription. Then, when I observed that public affairs were so ordered that the source of the power of the Roman Pontiff would necessarily be examined, I gave myself up to a most diligent examination of the question for the space of seven years, and found that the authority of the Roman Pontiff which you rashly—I will not use stronger language—have set aside, is not only lawful, to be respected, and necessary, but also founded on the divine law and prescription. That is my opinion; that is the belief in which, by the grace of God, I shall die.”*

The statutes which prepared the way for, and led up to, Henry VIII.'s Act of Supremacy are seven in number. The first of them (21 Henry VIII. c. 13) prohibits, under pecuniary penalties, the obtaining from the Apostolic See of licenses for pluralities or non-residence. The second (23 Henry VIII. c. 9) forbids the citation of a person “out of the diocese where he or she dwelleth, except in certain cases.” The third (23 Henry VIII. c. 26) is entitled “concerning restraint of payment of annates to the See of Rome,” and is specially worthy of note as being, at the same time, an attempt to intimidate and to bribe the Supreme Pontiff. It enacts that if any prelate hereafter should presume to pay first-fruits to the See of Rome, he should forfeit his personalities to the king, and the profits of his See as long as he held it, and that if the requisite Bulls for his consecration were, in consequence, denied, he might be consecrated without them; and it authorised the king to disregard any ecclesiastical censure of “our Holy Father, the Pope, or any of his successors,” and to cause divine service to be continued in spite of the same. But, further, it permitted each bishop to pay for the expediting of his Bulls, fees after the rate of five per cent. on the amount of his yearly income, and empowered the king to compound with “*His Holiness*” for the moderation of annates, and by letters patent, which in this case should have the force of law, to give or withhold his assent to this Act, and at his pleasure to suspend, modify, annul, or enforce it. This Act was, in fact, as Dr. Lingard has called it, a “political experiment to try the resolution of the Pontiff.”

The experiment failed, and in the next year the royal assent was given to the Act by letters patent. In this year also was passed a statute (24 Henry VIII. c. 12) forbidding, under the penalty of *præmunire*, appeals to Rome in “causes testamentary, causes of matrimony and divorce, tithes, oblations and obventions,” and requiring the clergy to continue their ministra-

* Sandar, “De Schismate Anglicano,” book i. c. 16. I avail myself of Mr. David Lewis's translation.

tions in spite of ecclesiastical censures from Rome under pain of one year's imprisonment. It provides that no appeal shall be made from the Archbishop's Court, save in cases touching the king, when the appeal shall lie to the Upper House of Convocation, and subjects persons appealing contrary to the Act to the penalties of *præmunire*. The "Act for the submission of the clergy to the King's Majesty," passed in the next session of Parliament (25 Henry VIII. c. 19), went still further, and forbade, under the like penalties, *any appeal whatever* "to the Bishop or See of Rome," "in any causes or matters happening to be in contention, and having their commencement and beginning in any of the courts" of the realm. Appeals from the Archbishop's Court, it provides, shall be to the King's Majesty, in the King's Court of Chancery, and shall be determined by commissioners to be appointed by the King.* It further recites the submission which had been extorted from the clergy in the previous year, forbids them to make constitutions save with the king's license, and empowers† the king to appoint thirty-two persons to examine former canons, and to approve or repeal them with the king's assent; such canons, if not contrary to law, or opposed to the royal prerogative, to be meanwhile in force. Another Act of the same year (25 Henry VIII. c. 20) utterly abolishes annates, forbids, under the penalties of *præmunire*, the presentation of bishops or archbishops to "the Bishop of Rome, therein called the Pope," and the procuring from him of Bulls for their consecration, and establishes the method still existing in the Anglican Church of electing,‡ confirming, and consecrating bishops. The next Act of the same year forbids, under the same penalties, the king's subjects to sue to the Pope or the Roman See for "licenses, dispensations, compositions, faculties, grants, rescripts, delegacies, or any other instruments or writings," to go abroad for any visitations, congregations, or assembly for religion, or to maintain, allow, admit, or obey any process from Rome.

The headship of the Church in England, taken away by these

* This occasional tribunal obtained the name of the Court of Delegates. Its functions are now exercised by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

† This power was never exercised, but it is unquestionably still possessed by the Crown.

‡ Tersely described by Emerson in his "English Traits" as follows: "The Bishop is elected by the dean and prebends of the cathedral. The Queen sends these gentlemen a *congé d'élire*, or leave to elect, but also sends them the name of the person whom they are to elect. They go into the cathedral, chant and pray, and beseech the Holy Ghost to assist them in their choice, and after these invocations invariably find that the dictates of the Holy Ghost agree with the recommendation of the Queen."

enactments from the Pope, was, in the following year, annexed to the Crown by the Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII. c. 1), which completed the religious revolution. I have, in a previous page, quoted the words wherein the statute declares the king the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and sets forth his power and authority in that capacity. "Of this Act," Dr. Lingard well observes, "it may be remarked: 1st. That it differed greatly from the recognition originally extorted from the clergy. That recognition confined the royal supremacy within the limits prescribed 'by the law of Christ'; this declaration affirmed it absolutely, and without qualification. 2nd. That, by giving to the king all the pre-eminence and jurisdiction belonging to the dignity of the supreme head of the Church, it invested him with all that authority which the Pope had hitherto claimed and exercised in England, for no other supreme head had hitherto been known in the English Church. 3rd. That it also invested him with episcopal power and jurisdiction; not that he pretended to administer the sacraments—he had not made such progress in the new doctrine as to believe with Archbishop Cranmer that ordination was unnecessary—but he claimed the right of directing those who had been ordained to such ministry, of superintending their acts and teaching, and of correcting and redressing all their errors, abuses, and offences, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought to be corrected or redressed, that is, all such as were committed by any overt act; for such as were committed *sine scandalo* must be left to the justice of God." *

What full proof Henry VIII. made of his supreme ecclesiastical ministry is matter of history, known to every schoolboy, and need not be narrated here. The importance which he attached to it may be inferred from the high place assigned by him to Thomas Cromwell, who was appointed, in 1535, his "Vicegerent, Vicar-General, and Principal Official," "with full power to exercise and execute all and every that authority and jurisdiction appertaining to himself as head of the Church;" the first place, namely, in Convocation, and "a place on the same form, but above the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the House of Lords." The Vicar-General's authority was confined to ecclesiastical discipline. The settlement of doctrine Henry took under his own personal care, as stands recorded in the "Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian Religion"; commonly called the statute of the Six Articles.† It is there related how the king, as "supreme head immediately

* DUBLIN REVIEW (First Series), vol. iii. p. 340.

† 31 Henry VIII. c. 14.

under God, of the whole Church and congregation of England," not only caused the questions of Transubstantiation, Communion in both kinds, Sacerdotal Celibacy, Vows of Chastity, Private Masses, and Auricular Confession, to be "debated, argued, and reasoned by the archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of his clergy," but "also most graciously vouchsafed, in his own princely person, to descend and come unto his High Court of Parliament and Council, and there, like a prince of most high prudence, and no less learning, opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge, touching the said articles, matters and questions, for an unity to be had in the same." Soon after Henry, "of his bountiful clemency, appointed a commission of bishops and doctors, to declare the articles of faith, and such other expedient points, as with his grace's advice and consent should be thought needful"; and in the next session of Parliament it was enacted that all declarations, definitions, and ordinances which should be set forth by them, with his Majesty's advice, and *confirmed* by his letters patent, should be in all and every point, limitation and circumstance, by all his Majesty's subjects, and all persons resident in his dominions, fully *believed*, obeyed and observed, under the penalties therein to be comprised (32 Henry VIII. c. 26). "By this enactment," observes Dr. Lingard, "the religious belief of every Englishman was laid at the king's feet. He named the commissioners; he regulated their proceedings by his advice; he reviewed their decisions; and, if he confirmed them by letters patent under the Great Seal, they became, from that moment, the doctrines of the English Church, which every man was bound to believe, under such penalties as might be assigned. And what were these penalties? A little later it was enacted * that if any man should teach or maintain any matter contrary to the godly instructions and determinations which had been, or should be, thus set forth by his Majesty, he should, in case he were a layman, for the first offence, recant and be imprisoned twenty days; for the second, abjure the realm; and for the third, suffer the forfeiture of his goods, and imprisonment for life: but if he were a clergyman, he should, for the first offence, be permitted to recant; on his refusal, or second offence, should abjure and bear a faggot; and on his refusal again, or third offence, should be adjudged a heretic and suffer the pain of death by burning, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods and chattels."†

"All laws and statutes made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth" were repealed

* By the 34 & 35 Henry VIII. c. 1.

† DUBLIN REVIEW (First Series), vol. iii. p. 350.

by the 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, which "enacted and declared the Pope's Holiness and See Apostolic to be restored, and to have and enjoy such authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction as His Holiness used and exercised, or might lawfully have used and exercised," before that date. By the 1 Elizabeth, c. 1, this statute was repealed, and six * of the Acts against the Roman Pontiff, passed between the 21st and 26th years of Henry VIII., of which I have given an account, were revived, as were also certain anti-papal statutes passed subsequently to the enactment of Henry's Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII., c. 1). That Act was not revived, no doubt because Elizabeth, as a woman, shrank from assuming the title of Supreme Head of the Church bestowed by it upon the Sovereign. But although she did not take to herself that title, she took all the authority implied therein, by the first Act of her reign, which is called "An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual; and abolishing all foreign Powers repugnant to the same." The Act provides that the spiritual and ecclesiastical power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence, privilege of every foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, shall be clearly abolished out of this realm; that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used, for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever be united and annexed to the imperial Crown: and that the power of exercising this authority by delegates to be appointed under the Great Seal, shall remain to the Queen and her successors for ever. It forbids any one to affirm, hold, stand with, set forth, maintain, or defend, whether in writing or print, by word, deed, or act, the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, pre-eminence, power, or jurisdiction of any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate; and ordains that every person offending against this prohibition shall, for a first offence, suffer forfeiture of all real and personal property; for a second offence, shall incur the penalties of *præmunire*; and for a third offence shall be guilty of high treason, and suffer accordingly. It provides, moreover, that an oath recognising the Queen's highness as "the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things, or causes, as temporal," shall be taken by all holding

* It was not thought necessary to revive the first of them (21 Henry VIII. c. 13), as the prohibitions contained in it were covered by the more sweeping subsequent enactments.

office in Church and State, and by all laymen suing out livery for their lands, or doing homage to the Crown. By this Act the Queen was constituted the unique source of spiritual jurisdiction in the Church of England. And, accordingly, in her commission to her prelates appointed to perform the ceremony of Archbishop Parker's confirmation we find this clause: "*Supplentes nihilominus, suprema auctoritate nostra regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in his, quæ juxta mandatum nostrum predictum per vos fient aut in vobis, aut vestrum aliquo conditione, statu, facultate vestris ad præmissa perficienda desit aut deerit eorum quæ per statuta hujus regni nostri aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione et rerum necessitate id postulante.*"* So also in the "Act declaring the making and consecrating of the Archbishops and Bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect" (8 Eliz. c. 1), it is recited that "Her Highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability, that can or may, in any wise, be objected against the same, as by her Majesty's letters patent, remaining for record, more plainly will appear:" whence, "it is very evident and apparent that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations."

As the first Act of Queen Elizabeth was directed to the extirpation of the Catholic religion, which she found professed in this country upon her accession, so the second had for its object the establishment of Protestantism. It is entitled "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments" (1 Eliz. c. 2), and is commonly called the Act of Uniformity. It provides that "all and singular ministers in any cathedral, or parish church, or other place, within this realm of England, shall be bounden to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all the common and open prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the book intituled 'The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England,' authorised by Act of Parliament, holden in the fifth and sixth years of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth," with a few unimportant variations. The penalties which it provides for any minister who disobeys are, for the first offence, the forfeit of a year's profit of such one of his spiritual benefices or promotions as it shall please the Queen to appoint, and imprisonment for six months; for a second offence, deprivation, *ipso*

* The document is given in Hadden's edition of Bramhall's Works, vol. iii. p. 178.

facto, of all his spiritual promotions and imprisonment for a year ; and for a third offence, imprisonment during life. But in case the delinquent had no spiritual promotions, the first offence involved imprisonment for six months, and the second, imprisonment for life. The Act further requires all the Queen's subjects, having no lawful or reasonable excuse for absence, to resort to their parish church on Sundays and holidays, for the new service, "upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit, for every such offence, twelve pence."

Queen Elizabeth's Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, as Hallam has observed, "form the basis of that restrictive code of laws which pressed so heavily, for more than two centuries, upon the adherents to the Romish Church."* I shall now proceed† to give an account of the superstructure raised upon this foundation.

First, then, by several statutes, Catholics offending against the Act of Supremacy were made liable to capital and other punishments as *traitors*. We have already seen that by this enactment whoever maintained "in writing, or by print, by word, deed, or act, the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority of any foreign prelate," should be deemed, on a third conviction, guilty of high treason. A statute passed four years afterwards (5 Eliz. c. 1) expressly named the Roman Pontiff, and provided that any of the subjects of the realm who should be convicted of having, within a year previously, "by writing, copying, printing, preaching or teaching, deed or act," extolled or defended the authority of the Bishop of Rome within the realm, or of having wittingly attributed such to that See, should incur the penalties of *præmunire* for a first offence, and upon conviction of a second should be guilty of high treason.‡ The statute imposes the same punishment for declining to take the oath of supremacy within a year after conviction.

The next of the statutes of spiritual treason is the 13 Eliz.

* "Constitutional History," vol. i. c. 3.

† In what follows concerning the offences of spiritual treason and recusancy, I have made free use of Mr. Anstey's learned work, "A Guide to the Laws of England affecting Roman Catholics."

‡ Mr. Anstey points out that the decisions under this statute very greatly extended its application. "It has been holden that the mere act of commending a book in defence of the Papal supremacy, or allowing it to be good, after having read it, and even after having heard a report of its being written in a foreign country, is an extolling or setting forth of the Papal authority within the meaning of the statute. It has even been holden (although two of the judges dissented from that construction) that a judge may ask a prisoner after conviction of, and condemnation for, a first offence, whether he be still of the same opinion, and that if he answer in the affirmative he is guilty of high treason as having advisedly maintained the Papal power a second time" (p. 31).

c. 2. The using, or putting in ure, within the realm, any bill, writing, or instrument of absolution, or reconciliation of persons to the See of Rome, the obtaining of any instrument whatever from that See, and the assuring, or even promising, under colour of such instrument to reconcile any person, and the receiving such absolution and reconciliation, are by this Act declared to be high treason, and punishable as such. All aiders, comforters or maintainers of offenders, after the fact, are made liable to the pains of *præmunire*, and all persons to whom such instruments have been offered and who shall not signify the same to the Council within six weeks afterwards, incur the penalties of misprision of treason.

The 23 Eliz. c. 1, refers to the same subject, but is far more ample in its comprehension. It enacts the penalties of high treason against all persons "who have, or shall have, or shall pretend to have, power, or shall by any ways or means put in practice, to absolve, persuade, or withdraw" any within the realm "from their natural obedience," or to withdraw them "for that intent" from the established religion to the Catholic religion, or to move them to promise any obedience to the See of Rome, to be had or used within the Queen's dominions; and aiders or abettors not disclosing the offence to a justice of the peace, or higher officer, for twenty days after knowledge thereof, are declared guilty of misprision of treason.

The penalties of high treason were enacted with greater rigour by 3 Jac. I. c. 4, against persons in like manner absolving, persuading or withdrawing others, or being themselves persuaded or withdrawn, "either upon the seas, or beyond the seas, or in any other place within the dominion of the King's Majesty, his heirs or successors," and against all their "procurers and counsellors, aiders, and maintainers."

The 27 Eliz. c. 2, was especially directed against the Catholic clergy. It enacted that no Jesuit or seminary priest, or religious or ecclesiastical person, born within this realm, and ordained, or professed, by authority derived from the See of Rome, should come into or remain in this realm, under penalty of high treason, unless licensed by the bishop of the diocese and two county justices, and that only in case of bodily infirmity, to remain in their actual abode for a period not exceeding six months and it provided the same penalty against all laymen educated in any Jesuit College, or seminary beyond the seas, who should not return to the realm, and take the oath of supremacy within six months, after royal proclamation made in that behalf in the City of London.

So much as to the offence of spiritual treason devised against those who adhered to the Catholic religion in this country. We

now come to the offence of recusancy, invented in aid of the Act of Uniformity. Popish recusants were Catholics who forbore or refused to attend the new religious worship prescribed by that Act. After conviction they were termed Popish recusants convict. The Statutes of Recusancy, properly so called, are 1 Eliz. c. 2; 23 Eliz. c. 1; 29 Eliz. c. 6; 35 Eliz. c. 2; 3 Jac. I. c. 5; 7 Jac. I. c. 6; and 3 Car. I. c. 2. But besides these, there is a multitude of clauses to be found among the penal laws passed for restraint of Popery, which declare that other offences of an entirely new order shall be deemed acts of Popish recusancy, and that those convicted of them shall be deemed Popish recusants convict. Thus, in the Toleration Act (1 Will. III. c. 18) it is enacted that every justice of the peace may require any person that "goes to any meeting for the exercise of religion to subscribe the declaration" of the 30 Charles II., st. 2. c. 1, against Popery; and also to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and upon refusal thereof may commit him to prison without bail: and if he shall upon a second tender of the section refuse to make and subscribe the said declaration, he shall be then and there recorded for a Popish recusant convict, and suffer accordingly. This style of expression is used as a convenient mode of stating the penalties to which it is intended to subject certain offenders, just as it has frequently been enacted that certain other offenders shall incur the pains and forfeitures of *præmunire*. The expression, in neither case, is intended to signify that the specific offenders belong to the class noticed by the statutes of recusancy, or those of *præmunire*, but simply that they shall be punishable in like manner.

The pains of recusancy were various. They may be classed as Forfeitures and Disabilities.

As to *Forfeitures*, we have already seen that the Act of Uniformity imposed a fine of 12*d.* for a first offence. The 23 Eliz. c. 1, enacts an additional forfeiture of £20 a month for forbearing the established worship. And the 3 Jac. I. c. 4, empowers the king to receive the £20 a month, and to seize two parts in three of all the recusant's lands, leases, and farms. It further enacts that if any Popish recusant convict shall conform, and shall not afterwards, within one year from his conformity, receive the sacrament in his own parish church, or if there be none such, in the next adjoining church, he shall forfeit for the first year £20, for the second year £40, and for every succeeding year £60 until he have received the sacrament. Moreover, under this statute, every person who shall retain in his service, or shall relieve, or harbour, any servant, layman, or stranger, who shall not repair to church for a month together, shall forfeit £10 for every month.

The 3 Jac. I. c. 5, also provides that every Popish recusant

convict married to a woman, not being an heiress, otherwise than in open church or chapel, according to the orders of the Church of England, and by a minister lawfully authorised, shall forfeit £100. And that if she be an heiress, he shall be disabled from having any interest in her lands or hereditaments as tenant by the courtesy of England. And it denies to every female recusant convict either dower or freebench in any of the freeholds or copyholds of her husband.

By the same statute the omission of baptism at the hands "of a lawful minister according to the laws of this realm," for one month after the birth of the child, subjects the father, being a Popish recusant, to the penalty of £100 for every such offence: and should he be dead within the month, the liability falls upon the mother.

It likewise imposes the penalty of £20 upon the personal representatives of a Popish recusant, not being excommunicate, or the persons concerned in the burial of such person, if the corpse be buried elsewhere than in the church or churchyard, or "not according to the ecclesiastical laws of this realm."

Finally, as to married women, this Act provides that every Popish recusant convict, being the widow of one not convicted of recusancy, who does not conform to the established worship, and receive the sacrament according to law, during one whole year after her husband's death, shall forfeit to the Crown two-thirds of her jointure and two-thirds of her dower during her life, and all share in her husband's goods and chattels, and be disabled to be his executrix and administratrix: and that if a married woman do not conform, and receive the sacrament according to law, within three months after conviction of Popish recusancy, she shall be imprisoned until conformity. But if her husband shall pay to the Crown ten pounds for every month of her nonconformity, or, at his option, yields into the king's hand a third of his lands and tenements, she may, so long as the money is paid or the lands are retained, remain at liberty.*

First among the *Disabilities* which attached to recusancy must be reckoned excommunication. The 3 Jac. I. c. 5, and the 1 Will. III. st. 1, c. 8, enact that every Popish recusant convict shall stand, to all intents and purposes, disabled as a person lawfully excommunicated: that is to say, incapable of suing, of being a witness, surety, administrator, attorney, or procurator for any person; of acting as executor, or of receiving Christian burial; and liable, as Chief Justice Coke pointed

* James I., according to his own account, received a net income of £36,000 a year from the fines of Popish recusants ("Hardwicke Papers," vol. i. p. 446).

out in a celebrated case,* to being dealt with, according to the rigour of the law, by writ of *excommunicato capiendo*. This statute of James I. further enacts that no Popish recusant convict shall practise the law or physic, or exercise any public office or charge in the commonwealth, either in person or by deputy; and that the husbands of Popish recusants convict shall lie under the like disabilities unless they, their children above the age of nine years, and their servants conform to the established religion.

By the 35 Eliz. c. 2, and the 3 Jac. I. c. 5, every Popish recusant convict, above the age of sixteen, must repair to his usual abode, or if he have none, to his native place, and not remove above five miles from thence without a written license from the Queen or three privy councillors, or without a special written license, "granted under the hand and seal of four local justices, with the assent in writing of the bishop, lord-lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant. And twenty days after his return he must notify it, with his true name, and present himself to the parish minister and the town constable, who shall enter these matters in a book to be kept for that purpose. The penalties of not returning to such place of abode, or native place, or of removing thence more than five miles without license, were forfeiture of goods and chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all rents and annuities during the offender's life. If he had not an inheritance of any kind of the clear amount of twenty marks, nor goods and chattels above the value of £20, and did not within three months after apprehension conform to the Established Church, he was bound upon his corporal oath, at the requisition of any two justices of the peace, or coroner of the county, to abjure the realm for ever and to depart out of it at once. The punishment of the convict for refusing to abjure, or for not departing out of the realm after abjuration, or from coming again into it, was death.

The 3 Jac. I. c. 5, also disables every person being a Popish recusant convict to present to any benefice, prebend or any ecclesiastical living, or to nominate to any free school, hospital, or donative; or to grant the assurance of any benefice, prebend or other ecclesiastical living; and devolves his rights, in such respects, upon the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, according to the local site of the benefice. It may here be added that the

* The Attorney-General v. Griffiths and others, 2 Bulst. 155. It has been thought that the words "as a person lawfully excommunicated" means nothing more than disabling the convict to sue, and this view is taken in Hawkins' "Pleas of the Crown" and Bacon's "Abridgement." But the better opinion seems to be that they imposed upon Popish recusants convict *all* the disabilities of excommunication. The point is discussed at length by Anstey, pp. 39-43.

1 Will. III. c. 26, extends this disability to every person who shall refuse to make the declaration against Popery, prescribed by 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, "as fully as if such person were a Popish recusant convict."

Further, this statute enacts that no Popish recusant convict shall come into the court or house where the king or his heir apparent to the Crown shall be, unless he be commanded so to do by the king, upon pain of £100. And the 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, enacts that every person convicted of Popish recusancy, who shall come advisedly into or remain in the presence of the king or queen, or shall come into the court or house where they, or any of them, reside shall be disabled to hold or execute any office or place of profit or trust, civil or military, in the realm, or its islands or plantations, to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to make a proxy in the Peers; to sue or use any action, bill, plaint, or information at law, or suit in equity, or to be guardian, executor, or administrator, legatee, or donee; and shall forfeit for every such offence £500.

The same statute enacts that no Popish recusant, indicted or convicted of recusancy, shall remain within ten miles of London after ten days from the indictment or conviction, under pain of £100: that all armour, gunpowder, and munition that any Popish recusant convict shall have in his house or elsewhere, except such necessary weapons as may be allowed him for defence of his person or dwelling, may be taken from him by warrant of four justices of the peace, and kept at his cost at such place as the justices shall appoint, and that if he hinder the delivery thereof to the justices he shall be imprisoned for three months; and further that any two justices of the peace and the mayor, bailiffs, and chief officers of cities and towns corporate may search for Popish books and reliques in the houses and lodgings of Popish recusants convict, and may, at their discretion, deface or burn any altar, pix, beads, pictures, or such-like Popish relique, or any Popish book which they may find; and if it be a crucifix or relique of any price, the same must be defaced at the General Quarter Sessions of the county, and then restored to the owner.

It remains to speak of certain penal enactments directed against Catholics generally, and not specially against those professors of the old religion whom the law qualified as traitors and recusants. And first, let us note that the Mass was prohibited by two statutes. The earlier of these (23 Eliz. c. 1) enacts that whoever shall say or sing Mass shall forfeit 200 marks and be committed to gaol for a year and thenceforth until he have paid the fine; and subjects every person who shall hear Mass to the penalty of a year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks. The later (11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4), "for a further remedy

against the growth of Popery, over and above the good laws already made," imposes the penalty of imprisonment for life upon any Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit saying Mass, or exercising any other part of a Popish bishop or priest's office within these realms or the actual dominions thereof, unless he be an alien, residing in a foreign ambassador's dwelling-house as chaplain, and registered as such in the Secretary of State's office.

Catholic books and other instruments of devotion were also rigidly prohibited. The 13 Eliz. c. 2, enacts that if any person shall bring into the realm any token or thing called by the name "Agnus Dei," or any crosses, pictures, beads, or such-like vain and superstitious things from the Bishop or See of Rome, or from any person authorised by, or claiming authority from him to hallow the same, and shall offer the same to any subject of this realm to be worn and used, he, and every person who shall receive the same, shall incur a *præmunire*. And by the 3 Jac. I. c. 5, no person shall bring from beyond the seas, nor shall print, sell, or buy, any Popish primers, ladies' psalters, manuals, rosaries, Popish catechisms, missals, breviaries, portals, legends and lives of saints, containing superstitious matter, printed or written in any language whatsoever, nor any other superstitious books, printed or written in the English tongue, on pain of 40s. for every book, and the books to be burned.

Catholic education was entirely disallowed. The 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4, enacts that any Papist who shall keep school, or assume the education, government or boarding of youth, within the realm or its actual dominions, shall, upon conviction, be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. This penalty is expressed to be "over and above the good laws already made": that is to say, the 23 Eliz. c. 1, which forbids the keeping or maintaining of any schoolmaster who does not repair to the Established Church, or is not allowed by the Protestant bishop, under a fine of £10 per month, and subjects "such schoolmaster or teacher" to imprisonment for a year; the 1 Jac. I. c. 4, which imposes a fine of 40s. a day upon any one who, without special license from the bishop, keeps school or is a schoolmaster, except it be in the house of some man or woman of gentle degree not being a recusant; and the 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 1, which requires tutors and schoolmasters, besides obtaining the bishop's license, to take the oath appointed to be taken by Roman Catholics, under penalty of three months' imprisonment for the first offence, and the like imprisonment for every subsequent offence, and a fine of £5 to the Crown.

Nor were Catholics, thus debarred from educating their children at home in their own religion, allowed to send them for such education abroad. The 27 Eliz. c. 2, makes punishable as a *præmunire*

the sending of relief, directly or indirectly, to any Jesuit college or foreign seminary, or person of or in the same; and the 1 Jac. I. c. 4, enacts that any subject of the king sending any child or other person under their government to any such college or seminary, with intent to reside in the same, or to be instructed, persuaded, or strengthened in the Papal religion, shall for every such offence forfeit £100. Under this statute the person so sent is disabled to inherit, purchase, take, or enjoy any real or personal estate whatsoever in England or its dominions, and all trusts, confidences, or interests whatsoever for his or her benefit are utterly void.

In the reign of Charles I. a further Act (3 Car. I. c. 2) was passed on this subject. It enacts that no one shall send any child or other person out of the realm to a foreign country, to the intent to enter, or to be resident, or train in any priory, abbey, nunnery, Popish university, college, or school, or house of Jesuits, or priests, or private Popish family, there to be instructed, persuaded, or strengthened in the Popish religion. It likewise forbids the sending of money or other thing for the maintenance of any child or person so sent, or for the relief of any priory, abbey, nunnery, college, school, and religious house soever. Conviction of either of these offences, it further provides, shall disable the party to sue at law or in equity, to be committee of any ward, executor, administrator, or donee (by deed) for any person, or to bear any office within the realm; and such convict shall forfeit all his goods and chattels, and during his life, or the continuance of his non-compliance, all his lands and hereditaments, rents, annuities, office, and estates of freehold are to be forfeited.

It should here be noted that by the 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4, if any Popish parent, in order to compel his Protestant child to change his religion, shall refuse to allow him a fitting maintenance suitable to the degree and ability of such parent, as to the age and education of such child, the Lord Chancellor shall make order therein. And the Court of Chancery will also superintend the education of such Protestant child, and impose restrictions on the access and correspondence of its parents (*Blake v. Leigh*, Amb. 306).

In order effectually to exclude Catholics from the Legislature, the 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, provides that no one shall sit in either House until he shall first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to which the 1 George I. st. 2, c. 13, adds the oath of abjuration, and make and subscribe a declaration, denying transubstantiation, and asserting that the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome are super-

stitious and idolatrous. This statute further provides that every such offender shall be adjudged a Popish recusant convict to all intents and purposes, and shall forfeit and suffer as such; and it subjects to all the pains, penalties, forfeitures and disabilities of the Act, any sworn servant to the king, who should not within the time limited by law take the appointed oath, and should come into the presence of the king or queen. And the 7 & 8 Will. III. c. 27, provides that every person who refuses to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, when lawfully tendered, shall be liable to suffer as a Popish recusant convict; and that no person who shall refuse the said oath shall be admitted to give a vote at the election of any member of Parliament.

The Corporation and Test Acts* applied of course to Catholics as to all dissidents from the Established Church. The last mentioned of these enactments provides that every person who shall be admitted into any office, civil or military, shall within three months after his admittance receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England, on the Lord's Day, immediately after divine service and sermon; and if he shall neglect or refuse to do so, he shall be disabled to hold such office, and the same shall be void.

Nor were Catholics, thus debarred from public life at home, allowed to take service abroad. To do so without having previously taken the oath of obedience, is by the 3 Jac. I. c. 4, declared to be a felony. The same statute further enacts, upon pain of felony, that no person bearing any military office shall go out of the realm to serve any foreign prince, unless he shall become bound, with two sureties, in the sum of £20 at least, that he will not, at any time, be reconciled to the Pope or See of Rome.

Catholics were excluded from succession to the throne by the 1 Will. III. st. 2, c. 2, which enacts that every person who shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded from, and be for ever incapable to inherit or enjoy, the Crown and Government of this realm: and in such case the people shall be absolved of their allegiance, and the Crown shall descend to and be enjoyed by such person, being a Protestant, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the person so reconciled, holding communion, or professing or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

In the first year of William and Mary it was thought necessary to prohibit Catholics from residing within ten miles of London, and an Act of Parliament (1 Will. III. c. 9) was passed

* 13 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, and 25 Car. II. c. 2.

empowering justices to tender to reputed Papists "the oath appointed by law." Any one who refused it, and yet remained within ten miles of London, was to forfeit and suffer as a Popish recusant convict. Another Act of the same year (1 Will. III. c. 15) provides that no suspected Papist who shall neglect to take the oath appointed by law, when tendered to him by two justices of the peace, and who shall not appear before them upon notice from one authorised under their hands and seals, shall keep any arms, ammunition, or horse above the value of £5, in his possession, and in that of any other person to his use (other than such as shall be allowed him by the sessions for defence of his house and person). Any two justices may authorise by warrant any person to search for all such arms, ammunition, and horses, in the daytime, with the assistance of the constable or his deputy or tithing-man, and to seize them for the king's use. And if any person shall conceal such arms, ammunition, or horses, he shall be imprisoned for three months, and shall forfeit to the king treble the value of such arms, ammunition, or horse.

A later statute of the same reign (11 & 12 Will. III. c. 4), imposed heavy disabilities on Catholics in respect of real property. It provides that any person educated in the Popish religion, or professing the same, unless within six months after attaining the age of eighteen, he or she take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and subscribe the declaration in 30 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1, shall in respect of himself or herself only, and not for and in respect of any of his or her heirs or posterity, be disabled and made incapable to inherit or take by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder any lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and that until he or she do take such oaths, and make such subscriptions, the next of kin, being a Protestant, shall have and enjoy the said lands, &c., without being accountable for the profits, but only for wilful waste. It further provides that, after April 10, 1700, every Papist shall be disabled and made incapable to purchase either in his or her own name, or in the name of any person or persons, to his or her use, or in trust for him or her, any manors, lands, profits out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or hereditaments; and that all and singular estates, terms, and any other interests or profits whatsoever out of lands to be made, suffered, or done for the use or behoof of, or upon trust for, any such person, shall be utterly void and of none effect. And the 3 Geo. I. c. 28, after enacting that sales by Papists to Protestant purchasers for full valuable consideration shall be good, unless some person entitled to enter by previous statute has already asserted his claim, goes on to lay down that no manner of lands, tenements, or hereditaments shall pass from any Papist by any deed or will, unless such deed,

within six months after the date, and such will within six months after the death of the testator, be enrolled in one of the King's courts of record at Westminster, or in the county before the *custos rotulorum*, two justices, and the clerk of the peace.

Finally, the 1 Geo. I. st. 2, c. 50, provides that "all manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, pensions, portions, annuities, and all other hereditaments whatsoever, and all mortgages, securities, sums of money, goods, chattels, and estates, which have been given, granted, devised, bequeathed, or settled upon trust, or to the intent that the same, or the profits or proceeds thereof, shall be applied to any abbey, priory, convent, nunnery, college of Jesuits, seminary or school for the education of youth in the Romish religion in Great Britain, or elsewhere, or to any other Popish or superstitious uses, shall be forfeited to the king for the use of the public."

Such were the laws devised to crush out the Catholic religion in England. Montesquieu remarks that "they are so rigorous, though not professedly of the sanguinary kind, as to do all the hurt that can possibly be done in cold blood." "In answer to this it may be observed," says Blackstone, "what foreigners, who judge only from our Statute-book, are not fully apprised of, that these laws are seldom exerted to their utmost rigour."* No doubt this was so; or Catholicism would have disappeared from the country. But however laxly administered, at certain times, or in certain cases, there these penal statutes were, hanging, like the sword of Damocles, for well-nigh three centuries, over the devoted heads of English Catholics, whose property, whose liberty, whose lives, were at the mercy of any common informer. It is well for us, in these easy times, to remember the great tribulation in which those spiritual heroes witnessed a good confession, and kept the faith that we have received from them.

"Wohl dem der seiner Väter gern gedenke
Der froh von ihren Thaten, ihrer Grösse
Den Hören unterhält, und still sich freuend
Ans Ende dieser schönen Reihe sich
Geschlossen sieht."

W. S. LILLY.

* "Commentaries," book iv. c. 4. These laws were still in force when Blackstone wrote.

ART. II.—JOHN MacHALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam: His Life, Times, and Correspondence. By the Right Rev. BERNARD O'REILLY, D.D., D. Lit. Laval., Domestic Prelate of his Holiness. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1890.

THESE two beautifully printed and bound volumes, which are thus ushered into the world, are very important. They weigh nearly eight pounds avoirdupois. The style is heavy, the matter is heavy, and the indictments against several of the actors on the stage of this life are so weighty that no moral balance can be found to register their heaviness with any degree of accuracy. Biographers are supposed to be partial to the man whose life is written by them, and to put even mistakes in a favourable light. Mgr. O'Reilly actually injures the character of Dr. MacHale by the manner in which he describes his career. Instead of giving us a history of the great man, as a youth, an ecclesiastic, and a prelate, he gives us a glowing description of his fighting powers, which ultimately convey the impression that he was a veritable Ismael in the nineteenth century. Dr. Doyle once said of a journalist, who wished to apologise for an attack upon his lordship, "Give him five pounds to keep him from writing an apology." It is a pity somebody did not bribe the historian of MacHale's life to keep him from writing this *Life*. John MacHale stands out pre-eminent amongst his earlier contemporaries, just like his own beloved Nephin amid the other mountains of Tirawley. If Nephin be grand and majestic, it by no means follows that the other mountains are without any grace or perfection peculiar to themselves. Nay, their minor beauties may be more harmonious and pleasanter to gaze upon, than the rugged cliffs of their dominant neighbour.

If Dr. MacHale's life were written as it ought to be we should see a grand figure of a disinterested man, attentive to his duties, faithful to his charge, and worthy of imitation. What have we here of his personal virtues? We are treated to one or two sketches of his private life and the routine of his daily occupations; but we have nothing of that social intercourse with his clergy, the sweet condescension which drew the crowds of poor people around him, and the words of consolation which fell from his lips. He is always on stilts in this biography, and never seems to touch the ground of commonplace life—except, for a

little rest, in order to get upon a higher pair of stilts for a new charge against the enemy. A Boswell was very much wanted to give the proper tone and interest to a life that was so full of incident and celebrity. Still, we can form a fair estimate of his character from the materials published in these two volumes.

The circumstances of birth, early associations, and education have a great deal to do with the formation of a man's character. John MacHale was born on March 6, 1791, in a place called Tubbernavine, in the county of Mayo. His childhood was passed amid the wild beauties of mountain and lake, and fostered by the care of affectionate relatives. He borrowed the grandeur of his thoughts from the scenery around him, and the kindness of his heart from the love of his companions. We rarely find in history such a combination of genial affection and fierce indignation in the same individual. He loved the poor, the wretched, the downtrodden peasants with a love surpassing the greatest kindness, whilst his hatred of the powerful, the oppressors and the enemies of his country was simply unbounded. The two dispositions were worthy of a great mind, and the only defect to be seen in his life was a want of that balance which could be adjusted by prudence. Where are we to look for an explanation of this want? It seems clearly attributable to his premature elevation to high honours in his profession. He was made a professor before he had ceased to be a student, a bishop before he had matured his knowledge of governing, and an archbishop before he had thoroughly learned the work of an ordinary independent bishop. That he deserved all these grades of promotion every one is ready to admit; but that they gave him a notion of supremacy over others, scarcely any one can deny. From the time of the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century there was a dearth of Catholic writers, and when such writers appeared, even then they were rather apologists than champions. Arthur O'Leary would not be tolerated now, and the Gallicanism of Dr. Doyle was a sad blot on his eminent success as a polemic. Dr. MacHale ran into neither of the extremes of his two famous predecessors. He put the cause of Ireland before English readers in clear and emphatic language; never degenerating into personalities, nor minimising a single principle of Catholic doctrine.

He was well schooled into this watchfulness of the golden mean in controversy. He was but a child when he heard from the lips of his own parish priest the horrors of the French Revolution. He saw the French troops march to Castlebar, on their futile errand for the liberation of Ireland, and he was afterwards to be shocked by the barbarity of a local representative of English rule, who hanged his beloved pastor without even the form of a trial. This youthful experience gave him a wholesome

dread both of revolutions and of tyranny, which after events in his life only helped to increase.

When professor, in Maynooth, in the year 1820, he wrote his first public letter, which was signed "Hierophilos." This created a sensation in its day. His next letter was directed against the Kildare Street school system, which, under the appearance of giving secular instruction, was intended to subvert the faith of the Irish children. This letter was addressed to the Catholic clergy and hierarchy. It unmasked the wiles of the Bible Society, and put Catholics on the alert. Several other letters followed, and Catholic Emancipation was so powerfully advocated that those of the English nobles who were Catholics applauded this new champion of their faith. He did not apologise for being a Catholic. He hurled heresy and its professors from their niches of self-complacency. It was just at this time that he was chosen as coadjutor to the Bishop of Kilala. He was the honoured and loved one of all Catholics; and, in his work as coadjutor, he grew in the esteem of his diocesans. This was in the year 1825. His position as coadjutor gave him an opportunity of visiting every parish in the diocese, and seeing the state of religion, whilst preaching the Jubilee which was granted in 1826. He also saw the poverty of the people, and the grinding exactions of landlords and tithe-proctors. His heart was with his people. Their miseries touched him, and penetrated him. Speaking the Celtic language with fluency and grace, he won their hearts, and they poured out all their sorrows to him in the glowing accents of that ancient tongue.

In 1830 there was a bad harvest, and in 1831 famine was scourging the province of Connaught and decimating its inhabitants. The Coadjutor-bishop of Kilala (Bishop of Maronia *in partibus*) undertook to plead their cause with the Government of that day. Here begins his public career as a writer of letters against the then state of things, in the hope of having them rectified. He says, in a letter to Earl Grey, who was then getting his Reform Bill through the British Parliament:

Important as the question of Reform is, the distress that now afflicts, and the famine that menaces, some portions of this country, are still more imperative topics. Reform itself might be adjourned with safety for a short time, whereas, should his Majesty's subjects become the victims of starvation, it is a loss which no ulterior measures can retrieve (vol. i. p. 133).

The bishop proceeds to give instances—and very painful ones—which confirm his proposition.

In this, as in every measure he advocated, he was certainly in the right. Still, to look at the matter from a distance, how can

we see his prudence? He lays bare the sores of misrule, and wants to have them remedied at once. He brings the miseries of poor famishing peasants in Connaught to move the hearts of landlords and English aristocrats, who care no more about them than they do about the Hottentots. Again, there are other bishops in Ireland—older than he is—and the English Government is never troubled by any of their publications. As a professor he lectured priests and bishops about education; and now, as a coadjutor-bishop, he undertakes to lecture the head and body of the British Parliament. He had a fine case, and he advocated it with surpassing zeal and eloquence. He saw hunger in the midst of plenty. The people had to live on the potato, whilst breadstuffs, more than sufficient to support a larger population, were taken out of the country to support landlords who were squandering the fruits of the peasants' toil in dissipation and sinfulness. Was not this a terrible picture? It has been repeated time after time; but the powerful who throve upon the miseries of the weak had eyes and saw not. They only saw the rights of property, and could not see the rights which the tillers of the soil had to a livelihood. He was holding up a looking-glass to men who could not see their own deformities therein, and uttering protests to deaf ears. It was said of him that he proved too much; and, therefore, proved nothing. Counter-statements were made against his, and these were believed by a class of society who "would not understand, lest they might have to act righteously."

The measures advocated by Dr. MacHale in 1831, and subsequent years, may be thus summed up:—Denominational Education, Abolition of Tithes, Tenant Right, Disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and Repeal of the Union. All these were legitimate, and English statesmen carried most of them—only about fifty years later. They were just and equitable: but were looked upon by the dominant race as radical, destructive, and communistic. The people of England—the landlord class and Protestant clergymen of Ireland—considered that such measures would be nothing less than wholesale robbery of themselves and their children. The powerful voice of one bishop had as much force against such momentum of prejudice as the proverbial ram had against the steam engine which invaded his pastures. Dr. MacHale was alive to this: he says, in one of his letters:

The gilded saloons of London are not the appropriate lecture halls for studying the wretchedness of the Irish cabin faces sparkling with mirth are not the fittest mirror for reflecting the sunken eye and gaunt visage of despair; a taste palled with the satiety of feasts and revels cannot well judge of the acuteness of

the pangs of hunger. . . . It requires a heart as well as eyes to be affected by the wants of others.

If the rich voluptuary were the historian of the unpitied miseries of Lazarus, we never should have been favoured with the instructive gospel lesson. The unfeeling rich man is not, therefore, the fittest witness to the depth or extent of human calamity, since the glutton, who refused the crumbs from his table, would deny the existence of an evil which he could not avow without revealing his own cruelty (vol. i. p. 139).

Unfortunately, these letters rather irritated than convinced those to whom they were addressed. They were denied, explained away, contradicted; and only a few paid any heed to them. They made a great impression upon the laity, and their author was hailed as a new champion of the Catholic faith. Newspapers reproduced his letters, and columns of leading articles were written upon them *pro* and *con*. The other Irish bishops left him alone. In those days meetings of the bishops, for united action, were not so systematically arranged as they are at present. Each one did as he thought best, in the Lord; and was applauded, blamed, or unheeded, according to the bias of his *confrères*. It was at this juncture that Dr. MacHale paid his first visit to Rome. He was received by Pope Gregory XVI. with the greatest cordiality; and he was asked to preach a course of sermons in English in the Church of the "Gesù e Maria." He met several great men there—De la Mennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Drs. Wiseman and Cullen—and was honoured and respected by all. His sermons were translated into Italian by the Abbate (afterwards Cardinal) de Luca, and his visit was a real triumph. John MacHale was now, for the first time, brought into contact with diplomacy. He never could properly master its intricacies; and, although he was successful against it in the beginning, it diminished his prestige and seared his heart towards the end. The history of the intrigues which were set on foot by the English Government and its agents, to prevent Dr. MacHale's elevation to the Archbishopric of Tuam, are matters of history. We have them related in Greville's *Memoirs*, in the "Life of Palmerston," and in other State papers, and fully detailed in this biography. The Pope overruled all objections, and placed him on the throne of St. Jarlath. This was his first victory over diplomacy, and it did not tend to sweeten his temper or his disposition towards the Saxon. It is well to observe here that, although he hated the Government of England, he liked extremely such English gentlemen as came within the range of his acquaintance. He became Archbishop of Tuam in August 1834. Then began a long series of those mental combats and paper wars which fill nearly the remainder of these two volumes. Henceforth, in

Mgr. O'Reilly's pages, every ecclesiastic of position who differed from the Archbishop of Tuam is made to look as if he sacrificed his honour, and every one who sided with him is lauded as if he were a veritable hero. This is the portion of the work which no one can read with pleasure—no matter on which side his sympathies may be enlisted.

Is it fair that worthy, holy bishops and their followers should be described as prejudiced, and that those who oppose them should look as if spiteful or jealous? The poet exclaims:

Tantaene animis coelestibus irae!

The writer of this biography extorts this exclamation from his readers at almost every page. It is pitiful to observe and record dissensions in ecclesiastical rulers; but it is vicious to ascribe them to ignoble motives on one side and to magnanimity on the other. Let the scales be held fairly, and let the events be weighed impartially, and then some sort of sound conclusion may be drawn by those who judge from facts, and not from merely attributed motives.

To understand properly the cause of the split amongst the Bishops on the point of *National Schools*, we must take into consideration the state of the country at the time.

The Emancipation Bill, passed about three years before this agitation began, did not benefit the mass of the people. It removed legal disabilities from those of the higher and middle ranks of society; but nothing was done for the peasantry. Such benefits as might be derived from establishing schools were not within their reach, on account of their poverty and the periodical famines, which made them poorer still. The Government offers a Bill for the education of the people, and this Bill is not acceptable to all parties. The system was founded on the liberal notion of educating Protestants and Catholics together, so that the school friendships of their youth might prevent acerbity when they had grown up. Religious matters were to be excluded from the ordinary routine of school exercises, and the books to be used were to be free from any religious tendency. The bishops all saw that the Bill did not go far enough; but they saw that it was a boon, that they could get no better one just then, and that the system could be improved in course of time. The principle of the majority was—*rem, quoquomodo rem*—in the matter of education. Dr. MacHale took quite a different view of the matter. He saw in the system a deep-laid scheme for destroying the faith of the Irish children. In fact, this is confessed to have been its aim in the "Life of Archbishop Whately," by his daughter. Dr. MacHale would make no terms with it, on any account. He was followed by the bishops of his province, and by

two or three outside the province. The three Archbishops and their suffragans, to the number of eighteen, accepted the system, and wrote a joint letter to the Holy See to prevent its condemnation. It was tolerated; and it proved an incalculable boon to the Irish nation. The managers were the priests—whenever the Catholic population was in the majority—and they had full control over the appointment and dismissal of teachers. In a very short time it proved a great success. The schoolmasters and schoolmistresses were the most edifying Christians in the parish, in most cases, and their example and teaching improved the tone of the people. What was intended by its framers to undermine Catholicity proved to be the greatest help to its conservation. How many of the priests of Irish parentage throughout the world are there at the present day who do not owe their rudimentary education to the national school?

The consequence of Dr. MacHale's opposition was that, for a long time, Connaught was altogether behind the age in the matter of primary education, and ignorance prevailed to a deplorable extent. He was right in *theory*; but who can say that he was right in *practice*? Was it fair to deprive the children of a diocese of the opportunities to learn reading and writing for fear of some metaphysical error which was altogether above their comprehension? *Summum jus summa injuria*: and never was the aphorism more truly verified. It has been remarked that students from the diocese of Tuam always took high honours in Maynooth and elsewhere. These were the favoured few, who were able to get to the Colleges, and the "mute inglorious Miltons" of the hamlets were allowed to "blush unseen" on principle. The Archbishop introduced monks and nuns into his diocese. These were utterly unable to extend their labours sufficiently wide, and the resources of a poor people were not capable of doing more. The absence of primary schools was taken advantage of by the proselytising societies established in Dublin to invade the Archdiocese of Tuam in its most vulnerable points. The "Soupers" (as they were called) established centres of operation. They had food and clothing for the poor, and attractions of a higher order for such as could help their efforts. Apostates were soon put into places of honour and emolument. Their children were educated for respectable positions in society. To give more success to their machinations they had teachers of the Irish language, who used nicely bound portions of the Scripture for class-books, and were rewarded for the success which their pupils made. Besides these, there were Baptist missionaries, who made nests of perverts in various villages, and did a great deal to lower that respect for the clergy which had been characteristic of the Irish in the days of persecution. Bibles

were sown broadcast, and every one who could read was able to gather a crowd around him to listen to the histories of the patriarchs and the kings of Israel. In course of time, the old piety began to give way, and even the Sacraments were cavilled at by half-educated pedants. National education, even as then given, would have counteracted all this in a great measure.

His opposition to the godless colleges is founded on the same lines. Here he was right both in theory and practice. The difference between the two lies in this: the children in primary schools cannot reason much, and are under the control of their parents, but the young men in colleges are let loose from parental government, and begin to exercise their reasoning faculties, when their passions and the opportunities of indulging them are all in the freshness of novelty. Hence it came to pass that the toleration of the national system worked a benefit, whereas even toleration of the other could produce nought but evil. Yet there were many reasons why bishops like Drs. Murray (of Dublin) and Denver (of Belfast) should look upon such a concession as even a favour. They lived in large towns where young men must get some sort of superior education. They had no place for this in Dublin except Trinity College. Many Catholic students went through their course, took their degrees in Trinity, and still continued good Catholics, notwithstanding the decided Protestant tendency of Trinity in those days. Could not the same thing happen in these new colleges? If young men lost their faith in them it was their own fault. Thus was there another golden apple of discord cast amongst the Irish bishops at a later date, and Dr. MacHale kept to his principles with unflinching tenacity. Dr. Murray and Dr. MacHale were cast in different moulds, and had been brought up in different surroundings. Their *penchants* were quite contrary; one being for conciliation and the other for war to the knife with the English Government. Dr. Murray would take half a loaf as better than no bread. Dr. MacHale would starve if he did not get the whole loaf at once. Whatsoever the latter claimed was justly due, but the debtors would not pay; what the former claimed was also due, and the debtors were willing to give it with cheerfulness. Dr. MacHale saw himself and his starving people neglected and despised. Dr. Murray found his gentlemen and tradesmen getting on in life under the fostering care of the Castle. They could not combine for the one purpose of furthering the better interests of the country. Again, Dr. MacHale went in for the Repeal of the Union, or what we now call "Home Rule"; Drs. Doyle and Murray, with many others, thought this project something like a castle in the air.

On the matter of self-government for Ireland differences of

opinion were more excusable at that period than they would be now. The old Irish Parliament was composed of Protestants, mostly of an Orange hue, who had scant sympathy with the sufferings of Catholics. There was no proper representation of the people. The lords possessed a certain number of pocket-boroughs, and the landlords (nearly all Protestants) could force their tenants to vote according to their wishes, under pain of eviction. Now, when the ballot protects the voter, and when the power of the landlords is abolished, things wear a different aspect altogether. "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*" This phase of political life was not revealed in the days when John of Tuam sided with O'Connell. Yet he looked forward to it, and had foresight enough to see that it must come to pass. If his fellow-bishops were not far-seeing enough in the crisis, this want of political wisdom should not be ascribed to their mental obliquity. That the Catholic bishops of the last century could be in favour of the Union was very natural, because the Catholics had no voice in the councils of the nation. That they should be slow to bring back the same state of things is very commendable. How could they transfer their interests to peasants driven to the poll by landlords? This would have been the case had the Union been repealed before the new Land Acts and the voting by ballot. We cannot, therefore, blame bishops for standing aloof from such a movement at that period. Even under present circumstances bishops have a right to their opinion, quite as much as a blustering layman, or a priest whose politics are in excess of his piety.

Hitherto Dr. MacHale had to contend, in print, only with English newspapers, and in intrigues only with secret emissaries to Rome. His ground of contention is changed at last; for some English lords attack him in the public prints, and try to undermine his influence in Rome. Lords Clifford and Shrewsbury are his chief opponents. The opposition of the first began with the difficulties about a certain Dr. O'Finan, who became Bishop of Kilala when Dr. MacHale was translated to Tuam.

Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Cullen writes thus to Dr. MacHale in 1836 :

Lord Clifford has been quite in the dark regarding what has been done; and I hope the propaganda will continue to keep him so. Every little English lord would wish to have a hand in managing Irish affairs, of which they know nothing. *What would become of the Church of Ireland, if Government had anything to do with it?* (vol. i. p. 380).

In the end, Lord Clifford wrote an ample apology, and the other lord got more than he bargained for from John of Tuam's

reply. Charles Waterton entered the lists on the side of the Irish prelates. The quarrel is of interest only in showing the anxiety of English Catholics, of some position, to have control over Irish ecclesiastical affairs, and the sturdy opposition of the Irish to their meddling. The Irish have always been averse to having their affairs presented to Rome through an English medium, from the experience handed down of how, when the English were Catholic, the richer benefices in Ireland were conferred on Englishmen. Nay, monasteries were built and endowed in Ireland, into which no Irishman could enter as an ordinary monk, much less as an abbot or superior of any kind.

The first volume closes with the death of O'Connell in 1847, and the second begins with the consequent changes in Irish politics. Efforts were made in Rome, which were seconded by Dr. Wiseman, for having diplomatic relations with England. After passing through the scenes of the terrible famine of '47, Drs. MacHale and O'Higgins go to Rome, to neutralise the efforts of English statesmen regarding the Queen's Colleges. The Revolution of '48 breaks out—the Pope flees to Gaeta, and the Irish bishops come home to contend again against famine, rebellion, and efforts to enslave the Irish Church.

Matters go on, in a confused sort of way, until Dr. Cullen is made Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. The Synod of Thurles was convoked, and new disciplinary enactments were made for the better government of the Church in Ireland. Up to this time, Dr. MacHale had great influence in the councils of the Irish bishops; but, from the Synod of Thurles to the end of his life, his influence was waning so fast that it came to nothing. It was his misfortune that many of those whom he was instrumental in promoting to high offices in the Church became his opponents afterwards. In Mgr. O'Reilly's biography, of course, all these are blamed, and Dr. MacHale is praised. Perhaps the praise and blame might be shared more evenly between both parties.

Dr. Cullen knew little about the practical condition of the Church in Ireland when he was placed in the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh. He had been educated in Rome, spent all his life there—either as professor or rector of the Irish College—until the time of his elevation. He had, therefore, imbibed a full complement of Italian notions regarding Church polity and the resuscitation of old customs which the penal laws had caused to fall into desuetude. How he was to effect all this was the difficulty. The Bishops of Ireland wished for a national Synod, and the Synod was convoked to meet in Thurles. The four provinces, into which Ireland was divided, were comparatively independent. The power of the Primate was restricted. Dr. Cullen was made

Apostolic Delegate, and, as such, had quasi-papal powers. He did not like Maynooth, or the system of education there carried on. He wanted an almost unfledged hierarchy to fly as high in the ecclesiastical atmosphere as those who never had their wings clipped. His intentions were good, but the country was not prepared for carrying them out. His secular ideas regarding politics were borrowed from what he saw of the revolutions in Italy. The influx of converts from the most learned and virtuous ranks of English clergymen caused the Romans to think that a new era was beginning in the British dominions, and that England was about to heal the schism of the sixteenth century. A new cloak was to replace the tattered garment worn by the Irish Church for so many long years. In fact, everything was to be made new, and shaped after the latest Roman fashion.

Dr. MacHale, and those who thought with him, looked upon a great many of the new measures as premature. He was accustomed to the old ways. Marriages and baptisms took place in private houses, and the stations of confession (when people went to their duties) were held also in private houses. All this could not be changed in a moment. Dr. MacHale lived amid a simple primitive people, who spoke their native Gaelic, said the Rosary around their hearths at night, and went to Mass on Sundays and holidays. When religion began to be undermined in France and Italy, revivals, in the way of missions and retreats, were started by zealous holy priests to bring people back to their pristine fervour. Confraternities were founded in order to preserve the fruits of these efforts, and new devotions were sanctioned by the Holy See for all these good purposes. Dr. MacHale was of opinion that the Irish were better in their simplicity and semi-ignorance than were those who were so highly favoured by new incentives to piety. A great many of the Irish prelates and priests were of his way of thinking.

These two lines of thought must naturally clash, and clash they did. The influence of Dr. Cullen was always on the increase; and, in 1854, it became supreme in Rome. It was on this occasion, when a meeting was held to arrange the differences between Drs. MacHale and Cullen, that Mgr. (afterwards Cardinal) Barnabo undertook to lecture the Irish bishops. Dr. MacHale said: "*Solius Papae est instruere episcopos.*" From that day forward MacHale had little or no influence in Propaganda. The Apostolic Delegate began to interfere in many things, which (although within his rights as Delegate) had never been interfered with before by any one outside their proper province. Priests were appointed to Sees without consulting their own bishops. Sometimes coadjutors were sent to bishops who did not ask for them, and did not want them. As early as 1851 Dr.

Cullen—then primate of Armagh—wrote to Dr. MacHale wishing him to select coadjutors for several bishops, and giving some reasons assigned by Cardinal Franzoni. Who wrote to Franzoni about the want of “efficient men at the head of each diocese?” This, we must suppose, was the commencement of that estrangement between the two prelates which lasted to the end. Dr. MacHale was not accustomed to be dictated to. His voice was seldom heard in the appointment of bishops, and complaints were sent against him to Rome continually. His day had passed.

When the Catholic University was established, the two prelates differed again. The bishops of Ireland were assembled to arrange matters concerning its government. Each bishop gave his opinion freely, and Dr. Cullen saw that the majority was against him. Just then he produced a Papal document, in which everything was arranged according to his own notions. At this Dr. MacHale left the meeting in disgust. He withdrew his support from the University altogether. He was opposed to the appointment of Dr. Newman as Rector, and other Englishmen as professors, in the new University. The conclusion to be drawn from these and other events, detailed in Mgr. O'Reilly's pages, is that both sides made mistakes.

The chapters on the “Episcopal Jubilee,” and “The Archbishop of Tuam asks for a Coadjutor,” xix., xx., and xxi. in Mgr. O'Reilly's second volume, are written in very bad taste. It was not necessary to show that the fiftieth year of Dr. MacHale's episcopate left him with few admirers among the Irish bishops. We do not think that his opposition to the appointment of Dr. McEvilly as his coadjutor is stated fairly; and that, if fairly, it is much to his credit. Dr. McEvilly was a great friend of Dr. MacHale's before he became Bishop of Galway. He had ruled one diocese and administered two more, with great success, for several years. He was a native of the Archdiocese; he had the majority of the votes; he was approved of by the bishops of the province. Finally, Rome sanctioned the choice of the priests and bishops, and why should his present Grace of Tuam have been still objected to? Does it look well for a bishop to beg so hard to have as coadjutor his own nephew—excellent and worthy as that nephew is—instead of taking the choice of the priests? Then, his acceptance of *any one*, except the Bishop of Galway, does not show a very charitable mood of mind. It was not a judicious act on the part of Mgr. O'Reilly to send these private communications out before the public, and thereby lessen the esteem which so many had for the late Archbishop of Tuam. Some of the statements, made in these chapters, have already been publicly contradicted; and many of the sentiments attributed to Dr. MacHale are supposed never to have actuated his movements in

the whole business. It makes one exclaim : "Save me from my friends."

Some notice may not be out of place here regarding John of Tuam's literary works. His "Letters of Hierophilos" were written for an occasion and served their purpose. His great work is "The Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church, showing that the former are no less convincing than the latter are propitious to the happiness of Society." This work shows immense research, and an amount of learning which could scarcely be expected in so young a man. It is still recognised as a class-book in some of our colleges, and has passed through several editions. It is said that he copied out portions of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" several times, in order to imitate his style. It was a pity he did so: for this very thing made him write simple matters in that ornate ponderous manner so much affected at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. Johnsonian or Gibbonian English would scarcely find place in a daily paper in our days; but when John MacHale began to write, it was the mode to clothe one's thoughts in the armour of Goliath. The faults of his style, then, were the faults of his education. He was a splendid logician, a far-seeing politician, an eloquent preacher, and a severe controversialist. It is not probable that his writings, in English, will live for ever; but they acquired a reputation for their author which far exceeded their merits in point of style, though it was not unworthy of their matter.

In writing Gaelic he was more fortunate. His works, in his own native tongue, are worthy of his bright intellect and his Celtic heart. He was not, evidently, a reader of our old manuscripts, or a Celtic scholar, in the same manner as were Eugene Curry, O'Donovan, or the late Mr. Hennesy. He did not spend much of his time—in fact, he had not it to spend—in poring over the treasures which are contained in the Bodleian, Trinity College, or the Royal Irish Academy; but he gave his spare hours to making a literature for his day out of the modern Irish. For this purpose, instead of writing anything original in prose or verse, he gave translations from works which he admired. The first of these were selections from "Moore's Melodies." In this he was very successful. He often equals, and, in three or four instances, surpasses the original; as in his translation of the second verse of "The Harp that once through Tara's halls." In his translation of Homer he was not so successful, and his want of success is owing to the metre he adopted. The Irish language is more adapted for trochaic than for iambic verse. Dr. MacHale uses the measure of Pope's Homer, which is iambic. This puts him into great difficulties in rendering the original. In the first twenty lines of the "Iliad," each line begins and ends

with a monosyllable. This had to be done in order to make his trochaic words become iambs. He was obliged, often, to give two lines of his own for one of the original, in order to render the sense, and to introduce epithets which are not found in Homer. His translation of *παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης* is rendered thus:

Le hais na tonta glorach geimnach garg.

Here we have *three* adjectives for the *one* in Homer. Two of them, as well as the word for *waves*, are trochees. There are some fine specimens of hexameter to be found in the relics of the ancient Irish bards, and a brief study of them would fit a translator to render either Homer or Virgil in the same metre as the original. In fact, trochees are very common in old Irish poetry, and some of the Irish songs are nearly all in dactyls. Neither is there a lack of spondees. His best Irish prose is to be found in his translation of the Pentateuch. This is far superior to Bedell's, which was made from the Protestant version.

Taking Dr. MacHale, all in all, one cannot help thinking that he was a great man in his day—overrated in the people's estimation, at one time, and lowered, beyond his deserts, towards the end of his career. His life is instructive for young and old. He will live long in the memory of his countrymen; and even his enemies must confess that he fought his battle nobly and honourably throughout his long and toilsome life. The letterpress of Mgr. O'Reilly's volumes is excellent, and the views of some of the scenes, amid which the Archbishop's life was chiefly passed, are a credit both to the designers and engravers.

PIUS DEVINE, C.P.



ART. III.—TRADES UNIONISM AMONG WOMEN IN IRELAND.

IT is important that women should be organised everywhere, but in Ireland especially so. Her greatest industry, numerically by far her greatest, is also pre-eminently a female industry. The linen trade of Ireland still holds the markets of the world; a province is populous with its mills; and in this great trade the percentage of women and girls employed was in 1886 (the latest return obtainable) :

	Women.	Girls.
Belfast . . .	59·1 . . .	17·8
District . . .	44·3 . . .	21·7

It is on account of Ulster that Ireland has this especial claim : but there is only too appealing a necessity also in Dublin and the larger cities, and even in the mills scattered throughout the country. It is true that Mr. Redgrave, the Chief Inspector of Factories, is quoted in the Report of the Sweating Commission as having stated that “in Dublin there is very little sweating, indeed hardly any; in fact, I did not come across a single sweater’s workshop similar to the London ones; and in Belfast the same.” And our own inspector makes the same report. But they used the word “sweating” in its technical sense of the filtration of wages through a middleman, or a series of middlemen; in its looser and (through a natural association of ideas) very popular sense of starvation wages and long hours we can hold our own lamentably well. We may most safely take it for granted that the match-box makers of Dublin are no less miserably paid than the match-box makers of London, whose wages for a week of seventy-two hours is five to six shillings; or piece-work payment (the wretchedness of which, however, can only be realised by those who have seen it) at twopence-farthing a gross of match-boxes. Out of this, moreover, the workers pay for paste, hemp, and, in the winter, firing to dry the boxes. Machinists—that is, women who work sewing-machines, chiefly in tailoring and bootmaking—are paid at a much lower rate in Ireland than are those employed upon a similar class of work in England and Scotland. And certainly, no less in our own cities than in London and Liverpool and Glasgow, there are hundreds of women daily living the “Song of the Shirt.”

The importance of the number of women employed in Ulster is emphasized by their condition and opportunities. In the Report on the Major Textile Trades we find that wages are very

much higher in England and Scotland than in Ireland, in Scotland going as high as twenty-five per cent. Mr. Giffen leaves these figures quite unexplained. To explain them would be one of the most important duties of a trades union. Only the multiplied resources of such an organisation, or some one with exceptional opportunities, could. It is a question of an average, and individual cases are only contributive knowledge; to argue from them singly would be as rash as an argument from the particular to the general usually is. But a Union could easily learn the rates for each place, and the local circumstances that might modify their significance, and so decide fairly and safely. Of course the difference in the price of coal and oil, and, perhaps, distance from the markets, will account for, at all events, part of the twenty-five per cent., but will it account for all of it? It is well known that unscrupulous employers, under the cover of depression of trade, often reduce wages below the necessity of the time, or, at least, make their "hands" bear all the burden of the depression, while conceding to them no proportionate, if any, share in the profits of returning prosperity. Not any more may the difference in the price of coal and the cost of carriage be always equally distributed.

A friend of mine was much struck by an example of this kind while visiting, through the courtesy of the manager, a factory in Belfast. My friend was shown, among other objects of interest, the engine-shed of what was one of the largest factories in the district, and the perfection of the latest Manchester invention was pointed out by the manager. The engines, he explained, were constructed upon a self-feeding principle, and by the aid of the improvement the firm had been enabled to abolish the labour previously required to keep them constantly filled. This new process also made it possible to use a much cheaper kind of coal than had been used in the old system, and a lesser quantity, and that with better results than were formerly produced by a larger quantity of the dearer description. And now comes the point of the story. Some time before my friend's visit the wages had been reduced because of an increased expenditure consequent upon an increased price of coal. Coincident with the reduction to which I have referred in the price of labour, and the reduction through quantity and quality in the price of coal, there was a still further reduction—a fall in the price of coal all round. But all these improved conditions did not result in a return on the part of the workers to the original wages! Here we have immediate reduction in wages following upon an increase in outlay upon one point, though apparently a reduction, and a considerable one, upon four points is not—when it concerns the "hands"—considered sufficient to counteract the effect of an increase upon one.

At the Trades Congress held in Liverpool last year the delegates from Belfast invited Lady Dilke to organise the women of their district. Lady Dilke was unable to accept the invitation, but she recommended the project to the Women's Trade Union League, of which she is the leading member. Accordingly, early in October the Secretary and Treasurer of the League arrived in Belfast. A preliminary and informal meeting was first held by one of the delegates. About thirty women, representing from seventy to eighty thousand workers, attended. Their grievances and claims were then ascertained, and the campaign mapped out. On the 8th a large public meeting was held under the auspices of the Belfast Trades Council. The newspaper reports say that there was not room for the crowds of women that besieged the hall from an early hour. The address dealt chiefly with the general principles of Trades Unionism, and what it had achieved; what their special case demanded, what they might expect, and what they should do. At the end of the meeting the formation of the following societies was agreed to: an Amalgamated Society of Weavers, Warpers, and Winders; an Amalgamated Society of Warehouse Workers; a Fancy Box Makers' Union; a Milliners' and Dress and Mantle Makers' Union; a Union of Tailoresses; a Union of Bookbinders and Tobacco Spinners; and a Union of Rope and Twine Workers. On the following night three meetings were held to carry out the resolutions passed at the first meeting. These meetings were devoted to the routine work of forming the unions, and with some exhortation the new unions were committed to that spirit of self-help which alone can bring outside help to fruit. Such is the bald history of the movement in Belfast, but it is a history full of hope and suggestion to those whose experience is able to develop it. In the words of one of the delegates, "she had seen numerous unions started, but her experience afforded nothing so encouraging as the manner in which the work was being taken up by the women of Belfast. If they were as keen in working the unions and making them effective as they were at the start, she argued well for their success."

No doubt we are a people of inflammable enthusiasms; but all our history contradicts the frequent loose deduction that they burn themselves out in a "big blaze." It is simply that both our heads and our hearts are quick. Whatever fears we may have for other parts of Ireland, I trust to the shrewd business-like and energetic North. Still, the success of a trades union so often depends upon one of the rarest, as it is one of the greatest qualities of the human mind, the power of working for a far-off end unrewarded and without earnest, that I dare prophesy nothing. Of course this difficulty is intensified, unless for a trade liable to strikes, if the union be worked on the new unionism principle of

unions being purely trade forces. It is wiser that women's unions, specially at first, should offer to their members "friendly" as well as trade benefits (such as sick pay), and the rules of the Belfast unions have been drawn up on these lines. The unions very prudently deprecated militant intentions; merely claiming to seek something like an equation of power. To attain to that will undoubtedly take some time; but when they have attained it, there are some important grievances to discuss. But as far as can be argued from the present, it is a very encouraging present to argue from; it is a powerful tribute to the justice of the cause, the alertness of the workers, and the goodwill and assistance of the men. It ought certainly to be very much easier to start the propaganda in Ireland than it was in Great Britain; for here it is preaching a cause that has been fought and won. It is much to be able to assure the tired mechanic or seamstress that the cause that claims their scanty and hard-earned leisure and pence represents success; to point to victories won against the same odds that handicap themselves, and with the same weapons they too may wield. Also, we have not had to drag against the under-current of the men's ill-will. Men have at length recognised that the women are "the weak link in the chain of organisation;" that since woman cannot be forced out of the markets, the cheaper woman-labour is, the more employers will use it as a substitute for their own, and the more the family earnings will dwindle. Here the men have not merely not opposed, passively or actively, the organisation of women, but they have shown themselves eager to assist it. Whatever may have been the determining influence, the genius of the people or the assistance of the men, I cannot but regard the genuineness of the adoption of trade-union principles, and the numbers enlisted, as full of promise for the future.

In Dublin, as in so many other places, it was the strike that made the union, not the union the strike. A few women, a short time before, had been enrolled in the already swollen ranks of one of the largest men's unions. This, however, scarcely can be considered as the beginning of the trades union for women movement here, as that movement works on the much sounder principle of the women managing their own affairs. Apart from their interests being swallowed up in alien and perhaps opposed interests, and the loss of that most important benefit, the education that responsibility and power and discussion brings, the free consideration of some of their distinctive and most grievous wrongs would be impossible. Trades unions should have the double motion that rules the solar system—each interest in revolving round the central federation revolving on its own axis. I therefore look upon the union formed during the strike of

weavers which occurred last September as the beginning of the movement in Dublin. The girls complained of oppressive foremanship, and of the usual grievance of heavy (and illegal) fines taxed on miserable wages. The Dublin Trades Council took up their cause, and the attention of the public was secured by full reports in all the papers. If the courage that the girls showed in coming out remained to them to the end, they probably would have obtained unaided all that they did obtain. Being skilled workers, they could not have been replaced in a short time, and the very lowness of the wages would have proved their salvation, for wages being higher, not merely in England and Scotland, but also in Belfast, it would have been only a chance of unemployed that could have enabled the owners to replace them. But without the assistance of the men they never would have thought of securing for themselves any safeguard for the future. After some time had been worse than wasted over the inevitable playing at cross-purposes, the girls' most pressing demands were conceded. A substantial union was formed, temporarily, however, officered by men, a prominent member of Trades Council being treasurer, and the secretary of another union being secretary. Time will show whether that was a sound plan—whether, in spite of the difficulty, it would not have been better to have plunged into the middle of things at once.

The second effort that has been made was an attempt to organise the seamstresses and shop-girls. The result is strikingly reminiscent of Lady Dilke's article in the *New Review* for January 1890 on the same subject in England. It had just the same elements of hope, and just the same elements of discouragement. No doubt, as that article says, the first requisite for organisation is material.

We were united [the article proceeds] as far back as 1874, by Mrs. Paterson, in a league now called the Women's Trades Union and Provident League, which has its office where any one may apply for help—at the Industrial Hall, Broad Street, Bloomsbury, and we have gone on ever since, distributing leaflets, handbills, pamphlets, by the thousand, in the many crowded centres of women's industry; yet, when we fondly hoped that the ground was thoroughly prepared, we have called meetings only to find ourselves face to face with so scant an audience that the platform had to be abandoned by the speakers, and the meeting, prepared with so much zeal, lapsed of necessity into a chat with the four or five anxious women who alone had ventured to respond to our invitations. Indeed, we very soon came to regard such an experience as rather encouraging; for our four or five women, well indoctrinated, would come back to us at a later day, bringing as many more with them, and gradually the numbers would increase until, created by the efforts of the little

band which had met us that first evening, there would arise a genuine trade society, soundly established and self-governed, though numbering perhaps only a hundred or so. The nights we learnt to dread were our apparently successful nights, when, in reply to our call, we found a room packed with idlers, come out of curiosity, frightening away those we wanted to meet, and as certain to withhold all help as they were ready to give us their amused approval.

Considering the very large numbers employed in these occupations the attendance was undoubtedly depressing, and of the few a large proportion came out of curiosity. We must, however, remember that the women the organisers were endeavouring to benefit belonged to a body upon whose ranks the driven crowds of the unemployed are ever pressing, unwilling allies of their masters' vengeance if the masters need to take it. And there is this to encourage us in the project—that the union has secured the services of some able and zealous, if, what is almost inevitable, inexperienced ladies; and that the workers themselves, if I remember aright, are directly represented on the council.

This brings me to consider the possibilities of support for the movement among the ladies of Ireland. We have here, of course, nothing like the Women's Trade Union League; very little, I am afraid, even like the material of such a society. In these days of a Conservative Labour Commission and Free Education we need not despair that Trades Unionism may yet become a fashionable philanthropy; but for the present it is a subject limited both by sympathy and culture to a comparatively narrow circle. Wealth and influence, no doubt, would be useful, more particularly in a crisis; but what Trades Unionism here really needs is the time and effort of those who, learning, will teach—counsellors, organisers. We would call them to assist the poorest, but it is not wealth we ask, unless the wealth of brain and heart. Feminine sympathy has a tendency to confine itself to a few personal cases, and to pass over the same miseries worked out to tens and hundreds as mere statistics. Happily that tendency belongs to the "old order," and a wider world is revealing itself to women. How many ladies have laboured all their lives amid the misery and crime that capitalist greed has produced, seeing the effect, but never asking the cause, soothing a cancer that should be cut out? Charity, unfortunately, will always have its special work, but much of its present work could be done more efficiently and more lastingly by Trades Unionism, and that without fear of charity's so serious blemishes of subsidising the profligate and thriftless and demoralising the weak. And for the same amount of money, where charity deals with one, Trades Unionism deals with ten. In the main, those to whom Trades Unionism has yet to be carried are those who need it most, for the more igno-

rant, the poorer, the more oppressed the workers are the harder it is to organise them, and the less chance there is of their organising themselves. It is of them we speak, and have been speaking chiefly. Trades Unionism as a philanthropy is better than charity, as prevention is better than cure; better to house and feed the worker as well as the average horse and dog, than to doctor and bury them when overcrowding and cold and starvation have done their work; better, as discipline, self-sacrifice, and the larger life are better than dependence. Then, too, Trades Unionism has this great claim—that it reaches that class of poor who are too worthy of charity for charity ever to reach them.

There is less public spirit among women here than in England; we are more afraid of publicity and of each other. If some lady here, of the talent, self-sacrifice, and social influence of some of the ladies who have made the London society such a success, were moved to take up the project, things would be much easier. There are many who could be made either to think or feel only by a personal challenge to their sympathy and responsibility, and who could be encouraged to act upon their convictions only by the courage of another. One of our chief difficulties is the sheer ignorance that, even among otherwise cultured ladies, exists both as to the scope and meaning of this movement. To many the mere name of Trades Unionism is enough; it is something to their ignorance synonymous with anarchy, and bitter with all the bitterness of class war. To them a strike is always an insolent rebellion against just authority. So heavy is the debt of justice to the workers, that to defend them seems to me grotesque with irony. However, to those who honestly, if superficially, are alienated by the surroundings, the bitterness, and occasional violence of the people, I would say one word: it is, Think. Apply that fairest test of changing places—dream the dream of Longfellow's king. "They work," said Dr. Arnold White in the Sweating Commission, "from eighteen to twenty hours a day, and their ordinary food day after day consists of bread and coffee." For but a few minutes to realise the undeserved horror of life to some—to live the life that so many workers live, from their unnatural, unjoyous childhood to their death in the dreaded workhouse; learning no knowledge but the dark and polluted life around them, as they herd in dens of naked rotteness, and drag on the weary life they hardly hold through the long toiling day to the few hours of sleep—the uneasy sleep of scarcely covered cold, or fever of the poisonous sultriness; their future without hope, as their past was without joy; the drunken oblivion that is for ever at their doors tempting them, to be paid for in an awakening to even worse misery; all the pain inevitable to every lot intensified in theirs, such pleasures as they have, as even the

wretchedest may sometimes look to have, brutalised out of all fineness of joy: so live, and see if the hideous oppressions and inequalities of life may be borne as calmly by those in the valley of darkness and death as by those who dwell in the high places.

And now that I have said my say, I am painfully conscious of a certain very wise saw—the wiser, I fear, in this instance, if we take it the least bit cynically. And in that sense Irish Trades Unionism can illustrate it with a “modern instance” as encouraging as it is appropriate. Bakers here in 1872 worked for sixteen to seventeen hours a day, being only paid so many shillings a week. They had, moreover, heated from the ovens, to deliver the bread. They petitioned for shorter hours and better wages, but their employers and the public were deaf to the obvious justice of their claim. At length they struck. Public opinion got hungry, got sympathetic, put pressure on the employers, and “the men remained victors, with no gratitude”—“Il y a de certaines vérités qu’il ne suffit par de persuader, mais qu’il faut encore faire sentir!”

HENRY ABRAHAM.

ART. IV.—THE AUGUSTINIAN SYSTEM.

HAVING recently (DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1890) pointed out the futility of the efforts made to represent St. Augustine as anti-Papal, we shall now examine the one other point on which Protestants still claim his patronage—viz., “The Augustinian System.” This formula, invented by the Pelagians, has been adopted by Protestants from the days of Luther and Calvin. By it the Pelagians meant that St. Augustine’s doctrine of original sin and grace was an innovation; the Reformers, that his doctrine of original sin, free-will, grace, and predestination was the same as their own. The present indifference of Protestants on the first of these points, and the admitted clearness of the Saint’s teaching upon it, dispense us from the obligation of treating it specially. We shall therefore devote the space at our disposal to a detailed examination of the three other points, as far as they concern St. Augustine and the Protestant “Augustinian System.”

In his own day, St. Augustine regarded the imputation of being an innovator as a grievous insult, and always protested that he had no system except the doctrine of the Church. Thus, (“Cont. Jul.” vi. n. 39), he says to Julian :

You say I have innovated, and that I thought as you do at the time of my conversion; but you are either deceiving or deceived,

calumniating what I say at present, or not knowing or understanding what I then said. . . . My books are still extant which I wrote immediately after my conversion, while still a layman; and although I was not as conversant with Sacred Scripture then as I was afterwards, still on this subject I neither thought nor said anything but what the Church teaches and says from the earliest times.

Again, to the same adversary ("Opus Imperf." i. 59):

No, I did not, as you pretend to deplore, vomit this doctrine into Italy, but received it from the Italian bishop from whom I received the water of regeneration; for it is the Catholic faith, though not yours.

This protest is often renewed in his anti-Pelagian treatises; and on every branch of the subject he professes to teach nothing but the Catholic doctrine always held in the Church, always taught by the Greek and Latin Fathers. ("Cont. Jul." i. 6-30, ii. 7, vi. 70. "De Gratia et Lib." Arb. 10. "De Correp. et Grat." 2. "De Predes Sanc." 2, 27, 29. "De Spir. et Lit." 32. "Epis." 215, 217). Hence, besides his copious extracts from Holy Scripture, he constantly appeals to the teaching of the Church, as exhibited in her liturgy, her Sacramental rites, her public prayers, her approved councils, the uniform teaching of the Fathers, and the doctrinal decisions of the Roman Pontiffs.

We need not repeat here what we have so recently said about his attitude towards the Apostolic See and its teaching. The uniform teaching of the Fathers, when they testified to the doctrine of their time, was final with him. Thus, he says to Julian ("Opus Imperf." iv. 112):

You say, "I have already crushed you beneath the weight of such persons," meaning Ambrose and his companions. It is evident that you have not only been crushed, but ground to powder by this weight, "like the dust that is carried away by the wind from the face of the earth" (Ps. i.). For, these prelates of God, so numerous, so great, so holy, and so illustrious, children of the Catholic Church as learners, and Fathers as teachers, have so spoken of the sin of the first man and of those subject to death by its sad inheritance, not as men at variance with each other, or with themselves; but with such absolute unanimity and constancy, that no one who reads them without heretical bias can doubt whether, on this subject, Holy Scripture can be otherwise understood, or the Catholic faith questioned.

This passage was written in answer to a charge of having rejected the testimony of certain Fathers quoted by Pelagius; and on looking at the reference given ("De Nat. et Grat." n. 71), we find that there was some apparent ground for the charge; but it was only *apparent*, for it was as mere disputants (*disputatores tractatores*), not as *witnesses*, they had been rejected. St. Augus-

tine always makes this distinction, and sometimes takes care to prove that a given Father had spoken as a *witness* ("Cont. Jul." i. 16). Protestants often make ludicrous mistakes by not attending to this distinction; thus, an Anglican dignitary gravely tells us (*Church Quarterly*, July 1887, p. 270)

that every element and constituent of Church authority, whether the individual teaching of the Fathers, or the united voice of Councils, is to him (Augustine) capable of mistakes.

Now, this medley of insinuations and assertions is based on a letter (Ep. 82) written to St. Jerome during the celebrated dispute about the text from the Epistle to the Galatians, and on St. Augustine's refusal to be bound by mere private interpretations of Scripture. And on this account a distinguished Anglican writer thinks him capable of rejecting the authority of Fathers, Popes, and Councils! *

We may here remark that St. Augustine does not always think it necessary to quote a great number of Fathers; he very often quotes only one or two representative men, like St. Cyprian, St. Basil, St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose. Nor does he always require long declarations from those who lived before the controversy had arisen; he is quite satisfied with their testimony expressed in any form, saying: "That although they had no occasion to discuss this difficult question before the heresy had arisen, they would undoubtedly have done so had it been necessary to answer such adversaries" ("De Predest. Sanc." 27).

"Lex orandi, lex credendi," was another of his principles. Thus, writing ("Epis." 217) to the unsteady Vitalis, he says:

Well, then, say plainly of those to whom we preach the Gospel, that we must preach to them, but not pray for them; argue against the prayers of the Church, and when you hear the priest of God at the altar inviting the people of God to pray for unbelievers, that God may convert them to the faith; for the catechumens, that He may inspire them with the desire of regeneration; and for the faithful, that He may enable them to persevere; deride these pious words, and say you will not heed the invitation, as such things are not gifts of God, but efforts of our own will.

Again ("De Dono Persev." 63):

Listen to the prayers of the Church, which she has said from the beginning, and will always say to the end. She has never been silent in her prayers regarding this doctrine, which we are now

* His belief regarding the infallibility of General Councils is clearly declared in his work "De Baptismo, Contra Donatistas," i. ch. 18, ii. ch. 9; and it was of the decisions of local African Councils, when confirmed by Pope Innocent, that he said, (Serm. 131, n. 10), *the cause is ended*.

obliged to defend against new heretics; although she did not think it necessary to raise her voice otherwise when there was no adversary in question. . . . As in these prayers, so in this faith, has the Church grown up from her infancy.

Another of his arguments is drawn from the public rites of the Church. Thus ("Cont. Jul." vi. n. 11) he says:

All reasons and explanations apart, that must be an undoubted truth which, in accordance with all antiquity, and with the true Catholic faith, is believed and taught by the whole Church which would not exsufflate and exorcise the children of the faithful except to rescue them from the powers of darkness and the prince of death.

These arguments he often repeats. (See "De Nuptiis," &c., ii, 22, 32, 51; "De Pec. Mer." i. 63.)

All this agrees with his doctrine on the infallibility of the Church, and proves that he could not have been the author of a "System" opposed to her teaching. This has been demonstrated again and again by Catholic theologians in the greatest detail; and yet Protestant writers persist in repeating this legend in the very spirit of Gibbon, who said ("Decline and Fall," c. 33): "The difference between him (Augustine) and Calvin is invisible to a theological microscope." (See *Church Quarterly*, July 1887, p. 275; Schaff's "St. Augustine," c. 27; Catt's "St. Augustine," c. 22; Lloyd's "North African Church," c. 14; Farrar's "Lives of the Fathers," vol. ii. p. 547.)* The coolness with which nearly every recent Protestant writer who alludes at all to St. Augustine, attributes to him, as a matter of course, the "Augustinian System," induces us to remind them of a few works on the subject, such as Tournely, "De Gratia," and "De Arbitrii Libertate": Des Champs, "De Hæresi Janseniana"; Merlin, "Véritable Clef des Ouvrages de St. Augustin"; Cardinal Noris, "Vindiciæ Augustinianæ." Merlin's work was reprinted at Paris by Garnier

* It is almost incredible to what lengths some of these writers go. Thus Mr. Lloyd says, p. 401: "He (Augustine) alone has ventured with impunity to indite a letter to the Bishop of Rome, accusing him of haste, and bidding him reconsider his judgment." He had already described the Council of 418 as having met in a most anti-Papal spirit, as having been swayed by Augustine's anti-Papal eloquence, as having by its canons saved the Church from Pelagianism, in spite of the Pope, &c. Our readers are already aware that most of this is pure fiction; but all may not know that the acts of this Council are not extant at all, and that its canons—the only extant record—make no allusion to this mythical speech. Need we add that "the letter to the bishop of Rome" is equally mythical? This Council, at first *plenary*, became simply *general* (every *plenary* Council of Africa was *general*, but not *vice versa*), and in this form lasted about a month, thus affording time for the arrival of the Encyclical of Pope Zosimus, and for the letter of thanks mentioned by Prosper (C. Collat. 15) as sent to Zosimus for this and his previous letters.

in 1877 in an appendix to Migne's edition of St. Augustine's works; it is particularly valuable for its complete exposure of the frauds of Jansenius in pretending to have found in the writings of St. Augustine the two or three catchwords of his own heresy.

For Catholics, who know St. Augustine's teaching on the infallibility of the Church, no more need be said on the "Augustinian System," but how many Protestants are aware of this teaching? How many of their writers will tell them, "that he (Augustine) would not have believed the Gospel, had not the authority of the Catholic Church persuaded him?" ("Cont. Epist. Fundam." No. 6); or that "to question that which is practised by the universal Church, is a piece of most insolent folly" (Ep. liv. No. 6). All this is concealed from the mass of Protestants, and therefore the general argument here indicated cannot fully come home to them. We must therefore examine the "system" in detail to show clearly the injustice of representing St. Augustine as an innovator and the patron of Jansenius and Calvin, as Dr. Mozley, the great English authority on this subject, has done. He tells us that St. Augustine improved out of existence the mild doctrine of the early Church and Fathers, substituting a doctrine of his own, which is accurately represented by the "Augustinus" of Jansenius. This long discredited work Dr. Mozley follows with the most implicit confidence.*

FREE-WILL.—Entering on the subject of free-will, we must carefully bear in mind the terminology of the text books. (See Perrone's "De Homine.") Inattention to this point would be sure to cause endless misunderstandings.

Liberty or free-will is the faculty of choosing. It is called liberty of *exercise* in the case of internal acts of the will; liberty of *execution* in the case of external acts, such as rising, walking, &c.; it is only the former that are strictly free. To choose is to will one thing among two or more, with power to do so or not. Choice between contradictories is called *liberty of contradiction*, as to love or not love; choice between contraries is called *liberty of contrariety*, as to love or hate; only the former is of the essence of liberty, since God is infinitely free; but man possesses the latter, too, since he can do good or evil. Choice between things only specifically different is called *liberty of specification*, as to read or write. Choice supposes advertence and power of election. Only *co-action* or *necessity* can destroy

* His "Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination" was published in 1855, mainly to inculcate mutual forbearance (on his Anglican brethren); he lived to see them "agreed to differ" on the most fundamental dogmas of Christianity.

liberty; the former being compulsion from without, can reach only to external acts; the latter being an invincible inclination from within, renders internal acts either simply voluntary, as in the case of the blessed who love God necessarily, or merely spontaneous, as in the case of indeliberate first motions. It is manifest that *necessity* is incompatible with real liberty; the fundamental error of the Jansenists was the assertion, with Luther and Calvin, that they are quite compatible. Hence, man's power over his own acts is called *liberty of indifference*. Freedom from obligation or law is called moral liberty; hence, moral servitude or subjection is quite compatible with true natural liberty. Thus, a Christian is *naturally* free to break the ten commandments, but not *morally* free to do so. Ancient writers do not always *explicitly* observe these distinctions; but in St. Augustine's case, the scope and context will always show that he carefully keeps them in mind. We must also remember that he often uses the word *will*, in its formal sense, for free-will, and that he often takes it for granted that his readers are quite aware of the various states in which liberty may exist in man, as the natural and supernatural states, and the states before and after the fall. No Christian of his time, and few Pagans who had heard of the "Golden Age," would question the following passage ("City of God," xiv. ch. 26): "Man therefore lived in Paradise as he pleased, while he wished to obey the command of God. He lived in the enjoyment of God, whose goodness made him good. He lived free from all want and could have always so lived. His food and drink were at hand lest he should suffer hunger or thirst, as also the tree of life to preserve him from the infirmities of old age. No corruption from or of the body affected his senses. He had no ailment to fear from within, no accident from without. His body enjoyed perfect health, his soul perfect peace. Just as in Paradise there was no excess of heat or cold, so were its inhabitants free from those desires and fears that hinder good inclinations. There was no sadness, no vain joy, but true and constant joy from God, who was loved *with charity from a pure heart, a good conscience, and an unfeigned faith*. Conjugal society was faithful under the influence of chaste love; concord was the guardian of soul and body, and the commandment was easily observed. Leisure did not beget weariness, nor did sleep oppress the unwilling." No one will deny that in this state man's will was far stronger and more unimpeded for good than it could have been after the fall, or even after the reparation. But even after the fall the natural free-will remained; Luther was the first to deny this, and also the distinction between the natural and the supernatural; and from this arose all the other errors of the Reformers with regard to

free-will and grace.* Some idea of these errors may be gathered from the following canons enacted against them by the Council of Trent (Sess. vi. Can. iv. v. vi.) :

If any one saith that man's free-will, moved and excited by God, by assenting to God exciting and calling, nowise co-operates towards disposing and preparing itself for obtaining the grace of justification; that it cannot refuse its consent if it would, but that as something inanimate it does nothing whatever and is merely passive: let him be anathema.

If any one saith, that since Adam's sin the free-will of man is lost and extinguished, or that it is a thing with only a name, yea, a name without a reality, a figment, in fine, introduced into the Church by Satan: let him be anathema.

If any one saith that it is not in man's power to make his ways evil, but that the works that are evil God worketh, as well as those that are good, not permissively only, but properly and of Himself, in such wise that the treason of Judas is no less His proper work than the vocation of Paul: let him be anathema.

Protestant writers at the present day, though very unsound on the subject of free-will, are far from adopting the repulsive language here condemned in the early Reformers; but they still generally assert with Gibbon, "that the difference between Augustine and Calvin is invisible even to a theological microscope." A Cambridge lecturer, Mr. Cunningham, who in 1885 timidly ventured to question this tradition, was taken to task by a high Anglican dignitary in the *Church Quarterly Review* of July 1887. The only other recent Protestant writer whom we have known to question it, is the Rev. James Field Spalding, of Cambridge, Mass., who in 1886 wrote an excellent little work on St. Augustine, mainly to prove that the rejection of Calvin need not at all involve the rejection of St. Augustine.

But the reader must not imagine that Protestant writers have anything new to say in defence of this tradition; they merely repeat it, serving up with it one or more of the extracts from St. Augustine that were relied upon by Jansenius and Calvin. As they take good care never to allude to the answers of Catholic

* They broke off from the Catholic doctrine by asserting that Adam's state of original justice was natural and *debitum*, not supernatural and *indebitum*; and that consequently original sin has deprived man of an integral part of his nature, and especially of his free-will, thus rendering him as powerless for good as a "stone or a log." (See Perrone's *De Hom. c. v.*). It has been already shown in this REVIEW (March 1856) that Mozley's teaching differs very little from this, and that he continues to attribute the same to St. Augustine; but who can tell what Protestants hold at present regarding original sin and Baptismal regeneration? The only thing that can be said with certainty is, that they still continue to credit St. Augustine with the old Reformed doctrines, with the whole "Augustinian System."

writers, we must give a few specimens, for the convenience of those who may not have time to consult our theologians or text-books.

1ST OBJECTION.—Augustine says (“Enchirid.” c. 30), “By a bad use of his free-will, Adam lost himself and it.”

RESPONSE.—The context shows that the free-will here meant was that more perfect one of Adam before his fall; and therefore no inference can be drawn against fallen man’s natural free-will. The parallel texts remove all doubt on the subject; thus, in his “Books to Boniface,” i. c. 2, he says, “Which of us asserts that free-will perished from the human race by the sin of the first man? Liberty did perish, indeed, by sin; but that liberty which existed in Paradise of having full justice with immortality.”

2ND OBJECTION.—“Free-will being made *captive* avails only unto sin; but unto justice it *avails not* unless it be divinely aided and delivered” (“Ad. Bonif.” iii. c. 8).

RESPONSE.—This *captivity* and *impotence* of the will are in no way opposed to Catholic doctrine, if they be not meant as a denial of man’s natural liberty of *indifference*. That they are not so meant is clear from the fact that such a meaning would place St. Augustine in the most flagrant contradiction to himself. For he says (“De Duab. Anim.” 17): “To hold any one guilty of sin because he has not done what he could not do is the height of iniquity and folly. Therefore, whatever these souls do, if they do it by nature and not by will; that is, if they are not endowed with free mental activity to do or not do it; if, in fine, they could not have abstained from what they did, we cannot hold them guilty of sin.” Such passages abound in the Saint’s writings, and hence our objectors are obliged to say that he changed his opinion under the pressure of the Pelagian controversy; but, unfortunately for this subterfuge, he, on the contrary, confirmed it at the close of his life in his “Retractations,” i. ch. 9–15; and even in the Pelagian controversy itself, as in the above passage to Boniface, and in many others quoted in our text-books. After this it matters little what meaning we give to the passage here objected; but really, to any one moderately acquainted with St. Augustine’s terminology its meaning is very clear. For, in the first place, it had a very definite meaning in the ecclesiastical language of the time; and, in the second place, he himself often uses these terms in contexts that clearly fix their meaning. By this servitude or *captivity* he meant that, since the fall, every child of Adam is born in sin, is subject to the penalties of sin, is incited by his unruly passions to actual sin, and is unable without the grace of Christ to do anything towards his deliverance from this servitude, or towards meriting any supernatural reward (“De Lib. Arbit.” i. 22; “De Nuptiis,” ii. n. 8; “Ad. Bonif.”

iii. n. 24; "Op. Imperf." i. 25, 27, 88, 217). And, as to the *impotence* alluded to, most Protestants will admit with Dr. Mozley (ed. 1. p. 109), "that grace was necessary for the righteousness of man, upright as well as of man fallen," and with St. Augustine ("Enchirid." 106), "that without grace no merit was possible, even then (in Paradise);" and even with the Council of Trent, which says ("Sess." vi. can. 1):

If any one saith that man may be justified before God by his own works, whether done through the teaching of human nature or that of the law, without the grace of God through Jesus Christ: let him be anathema.

All this implies a definite kind of impotence; but an impotence which is no more opposed to liberty of *indifference* than is the impotence of a man to perform valid judicial acts without having been raised to the dignity of judge. All the confusion has arisen from confounding *moral liberty* with natural *liberty of indifference*, as the Reformers did from the first, and as many of their followers do to this day. A Jew was free to eat swine's flesh, naturally, but not morally; a paralytic is free to walk, morally, but not naturally.

3RD OBJECTION.—"Our will would not be a will at all, if it were not in our own power; but it is in our power, and is, therefore, free" ("De Lib. Arbit." iii. n. 8).

"For, it would be very absurd to say that our desire of happiness does not belong to our (free) will, because by, I know not what good natural necessity, we cannot desire the contrary; we do not venture to say that God desires justice necessarily; not willingly, because He cannot wish to sin" ("De Naturæ et Gratia," n. 54).

In these and similar passages, St. Augustine supposes that *necessity* is not opposed to liberty.

RESPONSE.—On the contrary, the first passage occurs in a context occupied in proving that God's foreknowledge of our acts does not destroy their freedom, and that liberty and *necessity* are incompatible: all through this argument *voluntas* is manifestly taken, in its *formal* sense, for free-will. In the second passage, *necessity* is, indeed, united to freedom, but not regarding the same object. God cannot will evil; but, when He wills a certain good *ad extra*, the creation for instance, He may will it or not, or may will something else instead. So the blessed cannot will evil, but they may choose between one good and another, outside the beatific vision. And as regards man at present, although he necessarily wills his own good and happiness *in general*, he freely selects the object, good or evil, in *particular*. That such is St. Augustine's meaning is clear from the fact that

he is arguing against Pelagians, who held that indifference of *contrariety* is of the essence of liberty. Hence he says to Julian ("Op. Imperf." i., 100): "If no one be free who cannot will good or evil, then God is not free. . . . Do you want thus to praise God by depriving Him of liberty?"

This is a fair summary of the principal objections against the Catholic doctrine of free-will, drawn from the writings of St. Augustine; the few remaining ones will come in under the two next subjects. He had to defend the Catholic doctrine of free-will against Fatalists, Stoics, Manicheans, Predestinarians, Necessitarians, Astrologers, and Pelagians; and, therefore, to understand him, we must always ascertain which of these adversaries he is refuting. Although obliged to lay bare all the cavils of these sophists, he thought the common sense of mankind an all-sufficient argument. Hence he exclaims ("De Duab. Animab." No. 15): "Was I obliged to search these obscure books in order to discover that no one can deserve blame or punishment for wishing that which justice does not forbid him to wish, or for not doing what he could not do? Is not this sung by the shepherds in their mountains, by the poets in the theatres, by the unlearned in their assemblies, by the learned in their books, by the masters in the schools, by the bishops in the churches, and by the human race over the whole earth?"

GRACE.—The second item in the "Augustinian System" concerns the doctrine of grace, which is, of course, very closely connected with the doctrine of free-will. The following extracts from a well-known book, will serve as an introduction to our present remarks on the subject:*

Q. What is the grace of God?

A. It is a supernatural gift of God, not at all due to us; a divine quality communicated by God to the soul, which cleanses her from all the stains of sin and renders her beautiful and agreeable in the eyes of God. It is also a divine help, which excites us and enables us to do good and avoid evil.

Q. How many kinds of grace are there?

A. It is principally divided into two kinds, actual grace and sanctifying grace.

Q. What good does actual grace do to us?

A. It fortifies and strengthens the soul.

Q. What good does sanctifying grace do to us?

A. It washes and beautifies the soul.

Q. What is actual grace?

A. Actual grace is an internal supernatural help which God communicates to the soul, to enable us to do good and avoid evil.

Q. How does this actual grace operate on the soul?

* Hay's "Sincere Christian," ch. xviii.

A. By enlightening the understanding to see what ought to be done or avoided, and inclining the will towards what is good, or averting it from evil; and on this account it is called *exciting* grace and *preventing* grace. It is called *exciting* grace, because it excites and invites us, as it were, to do good and avoid evil; and it is called *preventing* grace, because it is wholly the work of God in our souls, and precedes every deliberate and voluntary act of our own, as experience itself teaches us; for we feel these holy inspirations arise in our souls without anything done by us to procure them, or having it in our power to hinder them; though when they come we have it always in our power either to comply with them or to resist them. When we freely comply with this first motion of actual grace, it continues to fortify and strengthen us to go on and perfect the good work we have begun, and on this account it is called *concomitant* grace, because it accompanies us during the whole action; and *strengthening* or *helping* grace, because it helps our weakness and enables us to perform it.

Q. What does the Scripture say of this *actual* grace?

A. Our Saviour says himself, "Behold I stand at the door and knock"; see here the *exciting* grace; and he immediately adds, "If any man shall hear My voice and open the door, I will come in to him and will sup with him, and he with Me" (Rev. iii.); behold the *helping* grace, or the continuation of His *actual* grace when we comply with the first motions it works on our souls. To the same purpose St. Paul says: "It is God who worketh in you, both to will and to accomplish, according to His good pleasure" (Phil. ii.).

Q. Can we of our own natural strength, without the help of God's grace, do anything towards our salvation?

A. No, we cannot of ourselves, and without the grace of God, do the least thing towards our salvation, in thought, word, or deed; nor so much as have a good motion in our heart towards God, but which must first be excited in us by Him. . . . Our Saviour says: "No man can come to Me, except the Father, who hath sent Me, draw him" (John vi.). . . . To the same purpose St. Paul says: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy" (Rom. ix.). . . . We cannot have true faith in Jesus Christ, nor believe the sacred truths of eternity with divine faith, without the help of His grace. Thus, St. Paul declares, "To you it is given for Christ to believe in Him (Phil. i.) . . . Hence, the Church of Christ, by the mouth of her General Councils, pronounces anathema upon those who teach, "that without the preventing inspiration and help of the Holy Ghost a man can believe as he ought (Counc. Trid. Sess. vi. can. iii.). . . . And hence St. Paul acknowledges that all the good that is in him, and all the good works he had wrought, flowed from this divine grace and mercy: "By the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace in me hath not been made void, but I have laboured more abundantly than all these; yet, not I, but the grace of God with me" (1 Cor. xv.).

Q. Why does he say, the grace of God with me?

A. By these words he shows that although Almighty God is always the first to begin the good work in us by His exciting and preventing grace, and although it is God that carries on the good work in us to its perfection by His assisting grace, yet it is not the grace alone that does it, but that we co-operate with this grace, freely consenting to its motions in our soul, and willingly performing the good work to which it inclines and assists us. . . .

Q. Is it in our power to resist this grace of God?

A. Most certainly. The grace of God does not force us, nor take away our free-will, but it helps our weakness, and enables us to will and do what we could neither will nor do without it. . . . Free-will is an essential part of our nature with which we are created. . . . This liberty and free-will with which God created man, was greatly diminished by original sin, and our power of doing good exceedingly weakened, from the violence of concupiscence let loose in our souls by that sin. Now, the grace of Jesus Christ cures this infirmity, fortifies and perfects our liberty, excites us to do good, and enables us to perform it; but by no means forces us. Nay, fatal experience itself teaches us that we too often resist the motions of grace; which, alas! is the source of all our woe.

Q. Why do you say that without the help of God's grace we can do nothing towards our salvation?

A. That is to say, that whatever good action we may do by the mere strength of nature, and without the aid of the grace of Jesus Christ, can never in any manner conduce to our eternal salvation; for, "there is no other name given to men under heaven by which we can be saved but the name of Jesus only; neither is there salvation in any other. . . . (Acts iv.).

Q. But can man do no good without the grace of God?

A. Observe, although our nature was greatly vitiated by sin, yet it was not totally corrupted and lost to all good. There still remain in us some sparks of that original rectitude in which we were created; and hence, among the numberless vicious dispositions of the heart of man, there are few or no persons to be found who have not some good natural inclinations, some to one moral virtue, some to another. Thus, some are naturally inclined to compassion, some to generosity, some to honesty in their dealings, and so of others. Now, though these good natural dispositions will not be able to support a man when they are occasionally opposed by other violent passions, yet in ordinary cases he can act according to them, and when he does so he performs a good moral action; and this he may certainly do by the strength of nature only; and though such actions can in no respect conduce to salvation, which is a supernatural reward, yet they do not fail to receive from God some temporal recompense; "for the divine justice will render to every one according to his works."

Q. As we can do nothing conducive to our salvation, without the actual grace of God exciting and aiding us thereto, does God bestow this grace upon all men without exception?

A. It would certainly be the height of impiety to suppose that God would lay His commands upon us, His creatures, and oblige us to obey them under pain of eternal damnation, the most dreadful of evils, and at the same time refuse to give us those helps without which it is impossible for us to observe them. . . .

Q. What is the tendency of all those actual graces which God bestows upon all mankind?

A. The ultimate tendency of them all is to procure the salvation of souls; but their immediate tendency is different, according to the different people who receive them. . . .

Q. Whence comes it that these noble effects are so seldom produced in the greatest part of mankind?

A. Not from any deficiency in the graces we receive, which are all fully sufficient for producing these effects in our souls; but from the perverse will of man, which resists these motions of the grace of God, refuses to comply with them, and renders them of no effect.

Q. But cannot Almighty God give us such graces as would effectually overcome the perverseness of our will?

A. No doubt Almighty God has an absolute power over the heart of man, and in the treasures of His infinite wisdom and mercy has such superabundant and suitable helps and graces to give him, as would infallibly procure his free and willing consent to whatever God requires of him. This power he exercised in a most miraculous manner in the conversion of St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalen, and others. Hence, the Scripture affirms "that God works in us both to will and to do, according to His good pleasure" (Philip. ii.). . . . Now, this supreme dominion which God has over the heart and will of man, as our Sovereign Lord, He exercises not by forcing our will or infringing on our liberty, but by giving us such abundant and suitable graces as He infallibly knows will procure our ready consent, and effectually enable us to do what He pleases, and cheerfully to walk in His commandments. Thus David says, "I have run in the way of Thy commandments, when Thou didst dilate my heart" (Ps. cxviii.). . . . On this account, those graces of God which man resists, and to which he refuses his consent, are called in the language of divines *sufficient* graces, because they are always sufficient to enable us to do what God requires we should do when He gives them, though by our resistance we do it not; but those to which we consent, and with which we co-operate, are called *efficacious* graces, because the happy effects for which they are given are actually produced in our consent and co-operation with them.

Thus far this accurate manual. The whole chapter will repay perusal; but we are at present concerned only about *actual* grace. The first Reformers boldly attributed to St. Augustine their own doctrine of "irresistible grace"; and Dr. Mozley, the acknowledged leader of English Protestants in this matter, everywhere makes *efficacious* and *irresistible* grace synonymous. As St. Augustine certainly held the doctrine of *efficacious* grace,

although the scholastic terms, *efficacious* and *sufficient* were not yet in use, Dr. Mozley asks us to swallow the following choice morsel :

He (Augustine) argues for free-will as a doctrine of Scripture, and uses the common arguments which the maintainers of the ordinary doctrine of free-will use, viz., that Scripture employs commands, promises, and threats, and speaks to men as if they had free-will. . . . While, therefore, in the case of Scripture, we are justified in taking such language to imply an original and self-determining will in man, because Scripture is addressed to the popular understanding, and this is the popular inference to draw from such language ; in the case of a philosophical writer like Augustine, who treats of the human will and the questions belonging to it in a scientific and subtle way, and from whose language, therefore, we are not justified in inferring more than it logically contains, we cannot take it as implying more than the existence of a will in man (p. 225, 1st ed.).

That is, St. Augustine had one doctrine for the learned and another for the unlearned ! And he had to teach Pelagians not the liberty of the will under grace, but the "existence of a will in man" !

Now, during the long Jansenist controversy, it was proved beyond all doubt, firstly, that St. Augustine never tolerated the idea of *irresistible* grace ; secondly, that he never tolerated the idea of efficacious grace being opposed to free-will ; thirdly, that he held the existence not only of *efficacious*, but also of *sufficient* grace, although he did not employ this scholastic distinction. All this is so familiar to every one acquainted with our theologians and text-books, that it is needless to go over the ground here again. We shall therefore content ourselves with a few decisive extracts from the Saint's latest anti-Pelagian works, reminding the reader that all through this controversy he uses the word *voluntas* in its formal sense for free-will.

No incident in the Pelagian controversy better illustrates his teaching than the well-known case of the monks of Adrumetum. Some of his anti-Pelagian writings having penetrated into that remote monastery, caused great dissension among the monks ; five or six of them insisting that their Father, Augustine, taught the doctrine of irresistible grace ; and one going so far as to hold that the Abbot's duty was to obtain for them this grace by his prayers, and when they did not obtain it, to overlook their faults. After many fruitless efforts to compose the dissensions, the matter was at last referred to the Bishop of Hippo. He wrote two letters on the subject to the Abbot Valentine, and for the use of the monks, two most important works, one on "Grace and Free-Will," the other on "Correction and Grace." In the first letter

to Valentine (Ep. 214, No. vii.) he says: "Take care therefore of the terrible warning of so great an Apostle, and when you feel that you do not understand, at least believe, the words of God, which teach both the grace of God and the free-will of man." His first work to the monks opens thus: "We have said and written much, as far as God condescended to enable us, on account of those who so proclaim and defend the free-will of man, as daringly and wilfully to deny the grace of God by which we are called to Him, delivered from our demerits, and enriched with merits. But as there are persons who so defend the grace of God as to deny the free-will of man, or imagine that free-will is denied when grace is defended, I have thought it necessary to write something to you, my dear brother Valentine, and to the others who serve God with you; all in the spirit of fraternal charity."

He then gives at great length the scriptural proofs of man's free-will; free not only from *coaction*, but from *necessity*. Dr. Mozley would say this was only for the unlearned; but he cannot play on the word *voluntas*, as *liberum arbitrium* is here used throughout, although in the scriptural proof of grace which immediately follows, both terms are used indifferently.

In the second work, written soon after the first, he reaffirms the doctrine of grace and free-will, solving the objections of those who might be tempted to refuse correction on the plea of not having received grace to do well; and concluding with these words: "Which things being so, neither does grace forbid correction, nor correction deny grace; and justice is so to be commanded that grace be sought from God by prayer to fulfil the command."

This was at the close of the Pelagian controversy; but he had spoken in the very same way at its commencement; thus he says ("De Gratia Christi," c. xlvii.): "Because this question regarding the grace of God and the choice of the will, is so difficult, that when free-will is defended the grace of God seems to be denied, and when the grace of God is defended free-will seems to be denied, Pelagius is able so to conceal himself in the labyrinths of this obscurity as to pretend to agree with what we have quoted from holy Ambrose," &c. That is, in the doctrine of grace and free-will he saw great difficulty and obscurity, but no contradiction; just as in the case of all the other revealed mysteries.

And now in conclusion, what is there in his doctrine of grace to make him a partner in the "Augustinian System" with Jansenius and Calvin?

PREDESTINATION.—We now come to the third branch of the "Augustinian System," *Predestination*. The first Reformers particularly distinguished themselves on this subject. Calvin's

doctrine caused fierce controversies, even among his own followers. The dispute convulsed the States of Holland, where such men as Grotius and Maurice of Nassau took opposite sides, and the terms Supralapsarians and Infralapsarians, Remonstrants and Anti-Remonstrants, Gomarists and Arminians, were heard far beyond the limits of Holland and of the Calvinist communities. And all the time, the name of Augustine was the battle cry, and to this day remains closely linked to that of Calvin in the Protestant mind. Hence, nearly every Protestant writer on St. Augustine—and they are still very numerous—makes him the master of Calvin; and, on this account chiefly, the author of “*The Augustinian System.*” Dr. Mozley did so, more than thirty years ago (pp. 108, 133); and even Archdeacon Farrar, who wrote only last year, gravely tells us (“*Lives of the Fathers,*” vol. ii. p. 547):

That the Pelagian controversy ended in his (Augustine’s) producing a system of scholastic theology which tried to define the undefinable, introduced into Catholic doctrine a complete novelty, and was prolific of horrible inferences dishonouring to God and revolting to the conscience of mankind.

The “horrible inferences” here alluded to were drawn and thus propounded by Calvin (“*Instit.*” iii. c. xxi.):

We call Predestination that eternal decree of God whereby He hath determined what the fate of every man should be. For, not to the same destiny are all created, since to some is allotted eternal life, to others eternal damnation. According as a man is made for one end or the other, we call him predestined to life or to death. . . . We assert, that by an eternal and unchangeable decree God hath determined whom He shall one day permit to have a share in the eternal felicity, and whom He shall doom to destruction. . . . Those whom He delivers up to damnation, are by a just and irreprehensible judgment excluded from all access to eternal life.*

* The Catholic doctrine of Predestination may be thus briefly stated: 1. There is on the part of God a Predestination truly and properly so called, and it is certain and immutable. 2. It imposes no necessity on the Predestined, but leaves their liberty quite intact. 3. No one can, without a special revelation, be certain that he is predestined. 4. It is impious to assert that God of His mere will, and without any prevision of sin, has condemned some of His creatures to reprobation, and destined them for everlasting punishment.

Arising out of these fundamental propositions, there are many questions which are fully discussed in our ordinary text-books. The Pelagians denied the Catholic doctrine, impudently comparing it to the doctrines of the Fatalists, Manicheans, and Astrologers; and it was this that obliged St. Augustine to defend it so strenuously. They denied God’s special predilection for His elect; and it was in defending this point the Saint unsuspectingly furnished Calvinists with the passages which they have most abused.

Moehler ("Symbolism," vol. i. c. 3), commenting on these words, says :

It is scarcely credible to what truly blasphemous evasions Calvin resorts, in order to give an air of solidity to his doctrine, and to secure it against objections. . . . He asserts that God intentionally produced within them (the unstable) an apparent faith ; and that He insinuated Himself into the souls of the reprobates in order to render them more inexcusable. Instead of acknowledging in the above-mentioned facts the readiness of God to confer His grace on all who only wish it, he explains them by the supposition of intentional deceit, which he lays to the charge of the Almighty.

Nothing in the life of St. Augustine is more notorious than his respect for the authority of the Church ; that is, the Catholic Church, for he was the open foe of all the sects of his time. Now, these horrible doctrines of Calvin are, beyond all doubt, diametrically opposed to the constant teaching of the Church ; this is admitted by the Archdeacon in the above passage, and by Dr. Mozley as well (pp. 108, 133), for the centuries before St. Augustine's time. What, therefore, we are asked to believe is, that this most obedient child of the Church shook off her authority in order to teach a new doctrine "revolting to the conscience of mankind." For this we require something stronger than "inferences" ; nothing short of the most express declaration will convince us. Calvin professed to have found his doctrine in St. Augustine ; but when we examine his quotations, we find ourselves obliged to rely on his own "inferences." This is asking too much ; for we have a painful impression that Calvin was neither modest nor truthful in drawing his inferences, whenever he had a theory to maintain. Were this matter to be decided by inferences, we have a very strong case against Calvin. St. Augustine wrote a work, "On the Predestination of the Saints," for the purpose of correcting the mistakes then current regarding his teaching on this subject. In this work he quotes the very texts of Scripture on which Calvin relies, but without even alluding to any such doctrine as that of Calvin. And yet he there speaks expressly of reprobation, but only as something caused immediately by man's own sin, not by any antecedent decree of God. (See Nos. 2, 11, 14, 16, 17, 33.)*

* This controversy raged at one time or another in all the Reformed Churches ; in Wesley's own lifetime it split up his sect ; and two Anglican bishops represented the head of their own Church at the Synod of Dort in 1619, and signed its ultra-Calvinistic canons. (See Lingard's "England," A.D. 1619.) The terminology of the subject is therefore pretty well settled, but at present we shall only direct attention to the terms *antecedent* and *consequent*, *positive* and *negative*. By *antecedent* reprobation is meant a decree independent of all prevision of sin ; by *consequent* reprobation, a decree resulting from a pre-

We shall not here weary our readers by going over the long-settled controversy regarding the passages from St. Augustine relied upon by Calvin for his terrible "inferences"; we say *long-settled*, because Catholic theologians have invincibly proved that St. Augustine never meant what Calvin attributed to him. We shall take a shorter way, but one which must have weight with every reasonable Protestant. Calvin quoted the strongest texts to be found in Scripture for his doctrine; how many intelligent Protestants now believe in his doctrine or his proofs? Well, his quotations from St. Augustine are weakness itself, compared to those from Scripture; is it then logical, or just, or honest, for Protestant writers to go on still attributing to St. Augustine this Calvinistic doctrine?

But the great Bishop of Hippo has not left us to depend on "inferences" or conjectures; he has stated his anti-Calvinistic doctrine in most express terms, not from being confronted with an adversary like Calvin, but from the fulness of his Catholic faith. Thus, he says ("Cont. Jul." iii. No. 35):

God is good, God is just; because He is good, He can deliver some without any merits of their own; but He can condemn no one without demerits, for He is just.

Again ("De Civ. Dei," xiii. c. 15):

For her [the soul's] evil begins from her own will; her good from the will of her Creator.

Again (Ep. 186, No. 20):

For it is piously and truly believed that God in justifying the guilty and the impious, delivers them from the penalties they deserved; but to believe that God punishes any one who does not deserve it, and who is guilty of no sin, is to believe Him not exempt from injustice. When the unworthy are delivered, the greater the penalty due, the greater the thanks to be rendered; but to condemn the innocent is neither mercy nor truth.*

Not only did he thus explicitly condemn beforehand the fundamental tenets of Calvinism; but in the same incidental manner, and with no adversary to refute, he contradicts their corollaries as well; namely, that God does not sincerely desire

vision of sin. By *positive* reprobation is meant a formal decree of condemnation; by *negative* reprobation, simply non-election. The strict Calvinistic reprobation was both antecedent and positive, with all the revolting circumstances mentioned by Moehler.

* It was as the reputed author of the old rigid Calvinism that St. Augustine was credited with the "Augustinian System"; but it would be very easy to show that the new Calvinism has just as little claim as the old to his patronage.

the salvation of all men; that Christ did not die for all; that God's foreknowledge of men's sins leaves them no liberty for good or evil; and that, consequently, man's eternal destiny is no way dependent on his conduct here below. His pronouncements on these subjects extend over the whole period from his conversion to his death. Thus, he says ("Retrac." i. c. 9) :

While we still tarried at Rome, we wished to discuss the origin of evil, and we did so, in order to understand by reasoning, as far as God might enable us, what we already believed on the subject, in submission to the divine authority. Having, after diligent discussion, come to the conclusion that evil has no other origin but free-will, we called the three books produced by the discussion, "De Libero Arbitrio."

This deep and interesting dialogue between the newly baptised Augustine and his pious friend, Evodius, bristles with anti-Calvinistic passages; and, moreover, by its terminology deprives such writers as Dr. Mozley of their *locus standi*, by using indifferently the terms *liberum arbitrium* and *voluntas* for free-will; for these writers insist on taking *voluntas* for the mere faculty, although St. Augustine had no dispute about the mere faculty, but only about its liberty. Our space will permit only a few brief extracts (iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4) :

AUG. Have we effected anything by our two first disputations?
EVOD. Indeed we have.

AUG. I think you remember that in our first disputation it was sufficiently established that only by her own will could the soul be made the slave of lust. . . .

EVOD. I see, and as if touch, these truths. . . . But, with all this, I am terribly at a loss how to reconcile the foreknowledge of God with our liberty to sin. . . .

AUG. You have knocked earnestly; may God in His mercy assist and enlighten us. But my own opinion is that most men are tormented by this question, only for want of seeking piously, and because they are more ready to excuse than to confess their sins. . . . Your fear, then, is that we must either impiously deny the foreknowledge of God, or confess that sin is committed not by freewill (*voluntate*), but by necessity; is this your whole difficulty?

EVOD. Yes, for the present.

AUG. You therefore think that whatever God foresees, comes to pass by necessity, not by free-will (*voluntate*)?

EVOD. Just so.

AUG. Just think for a moment, and look into yourself a little; tell me, if you can, what wish you shall have to-morrow—the wish to do evil, or the wish to do good?

EVOD. That I cannot tell.

AUG. And do you think God cannot tell?

EVOD. I could think no such thing.

AUG. If, then, He knows what you shall wish to-morrow, and foresees the future wishes of all who now exist or shall exist, *fortiori* He foresees what He Himself shall do with the just and the impious.

EVOD. Of course, if I say that God foresees my acts, I must still more confidently assert that He foresees His own. . . .

AUG. Take care then, lest it be said to you that God, too, shall do whatever He is to do, not from will, but from necessity. . . .

EVOD. Yes, I no longer deny that whatever God foresees must come to pass, or that He foresees our sins; but in such wise that our will remains free, and in our own power. . . .

AUG. For what reason does our free-will (*lib. arb.*) seem to you opposed to the foreknowledge of God; by reason of the foreknowledge, or because it is God's foreknowledge?

EVOD. Rather because it is God's.

AUG. Then, if *you* foresee that some one will sin, he will not necessarily sin.

EVOD. Yes, he must, or my foreknowledge is not certain, and, therefore, not foreknowledge at all.

AUG. So, after all, it is not because it is God's foreknowledge, but because it is foreknowledge, that the thing foreseen must happen. . . .

EVOD. Be it so; but what of that?

AUG. This, if I mistake not; that just as *your* foreknowledge does not oblige any one to sin, so neither does the foreknowledge of God.

God, indeed, wishes all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, but not so as to deprive them of the free-will (*lib. arb.*) for the good or bad use of which they may be most justly judged ("De Spiritu et Lit." n. 58).

"For," he says to the Corinthians, "*if one died for all, then all were dead, and He died for all* (2 Cor. v.). . . . He proves that all were dead, from the fact that one died for all; this I must press, urge, and insist upon, whether you like it or not" ("Cont. Jul." vi. 8).

Extricate yourself if you can from this, *one died for all*; and dare to assert that all were not dead for whom Christ died, although the Apostle concludes at once, *therefore, all were dead*" ("Opus Imperf." ii. 175).

When, therefore, you hear the Lord saying, "*I have deceived that Prophet*" (Ezek. xiv.); and the Apostle saying, "*He hath mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardens*" (Rom. ix.), recognise the demerits of him whom God *permits* to be deceived or hardened; and in him who receives mercy, unhesitatingly recognise the grace of God, who renders good for evil, not evil for evil. And take care not to deprive Pharaoh of free-will, because God often says, "*I have hardened Pharaoh*" (Exod. iv. 14); for it does not follow that he did not harden his own heart, as the Scripture thus tells us, "*And Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time too.*" And thus, God hardened by a just judgment, and Pharaoh by his own free-will. Be, therefore, quite

certain that your labour will not be in vain if you persevere in your good purpose to the end. . . . God will certainly render evil for evil, because He is just ; good for evil, because He is good ; and good for good, because He is both just and good. But He will not render evil for good, because He is not unjust (" De Grat. et Lib. Arb." No. 45).

These extracts speak for themselves ; they are not *truncated*, and could be strengthened by their context, did space permit. Is it possible that the man who wrote them could have held or taught Calvinistic doctrine ? And yet they are only a few out of the numerous passages that could be collected from the Saint's voluminous writings.

In the course of our reading on these subjects, we were much struck with the fact that the writers most bent on attributing to St. Augustine "The Augustinian System," are exactly those who have taken least pains to examine the origin and merits of the tradition. On the other hand, the few Protestant writers who, like Mr. Cunningham, the Cambridge lecturer, or Mr. Spalding, the American writer, already mentioned, have seriously examined the matter, refuse to attribute to St. Augustine this "Augustinian System." We commend these facts to the attention of Protestant writers on this subject.

THE AUTHOR OF
"ST. AUGUSTINE; AN HISTORICAL STUDY."

ART. V.—A NEW SYSTEM OF BIBLICAL HISTORY: THE AGE OF THE PSALMS.

IT is well known what the books of the Old Testament have suffered at the hands of modern criticism; how they have successively lost their date, their rank, their authors. The first have become last. The Pentateuch—or rather Hexateuch, in the modern phraseology, which comprises the book of Joshua—has been adjudged as entirely the work of the restoration which followed the return of the Jews into Palestine after the Babylonian captivity. And other books have been added to these as the work of the same period, until only a few historical and prophetic books remained that can pretend to claim a pre-Exilian origin. To these few, however, might still be attributed authenticity more or less complete, and a date relatively ancient. But last year, M. Maurice Vernes, Professor of Biblical Exegesis at the New Sorbonne of Paris, published his “*Etudes Bibliques*,” and the chief object of that work is to prove that the whole of the Old Testament, without exception, was composed not only after the Exile, but after the great period of Nehemias and Esdras, and that no part of it can be traced back to earlier than the fourth century B.C.

M. Vernes adduced no proofs in support of his new system, and it naturally met with nothing but opposition; it was even asserted that the learned author had chosen that date only because it had not been chosen by any one before, and so was available for a system which he could thus create and designate with his name. Stung by these criticisms, M. Vernes has just published a new work in confirmation of his assertions.* Let us, however, at once mention that he is not one of those who work in order to demolish, who *drag the Bible through the mud* for the pleasure of doing so; his is no rude contempt for what others deem sacred. On the contrary, his object is to preserve the honour of the sacred books, and provide for the orthodox—Catholic or Protestant—the means of placing them beyond the reach of criticism, on absolutely safe ground. He calls his system “The Regressive Method.” It will be seen that he deserves every consideration in our discussion of it.

M. Vernes begins by condemning the whole system of modern exegesis, because, “starting from traditional conclusions, it simply busies itself in correcting and rectifying whenever it finds these

* “*Les Résultats de l'Exégèse Biblique*.” Paris: Leroux. The volume contains other essays; but we need here give attention to only the two chapters treating of the Old Testament chronology.

conclusions in contradiction with avowed facts, or in disagreement with philosophical and religious tendencies." In his eyes the work of rectification and correction, whatever care be bestowed upon it, can never attain any result worthy of general approbation unless the first foundation be a solid one. Here, however, the foundation is of the weakest—nothing but blind tradition. M. Vernes, therefore, casts about for one which shall be truly scientific and beyond cavil. And he has excogitated the following.

All literature must be placed in one or other of two categories. Either (1) it has an historical basis; has been formed in the true light of history; can produce in its favour historical, epigraphic, or other undeniable proofs, in which case the *details* alone can be brought into discussion, the basis and the entire structure must be accepted without contention; or, (2) historical proofs, synchronisms, taken from the history of other peoples, and documents contemporary with its own writings, are completely wanting, in which case its statements must be rejected *en bloc*.

And, according to M. Vernes, in this last unhappy category must Biblical literature be classed, *without one single protestation being possible in its defence*. Under such conditions there is abundant opportunity for subjective and personal appreciations, hence great danger of error. There is only one means of escaping from this danger, and that is to choose some incontestable principle of judgment, and to hold firmly to it. This principle is unique of its kind; there is but one, and no other. According to M. Vernes it is as follows:

We must seek for the first point of stable ground, not move from it, but hold to it without flinching. We must start from a *terminus ad quem* and not from a *terminus a quo*; we must look for the date at which the books of the Bible possess an undeniable existence, and stop there.

M. Vernes admits that the Bible existed 150 or 250 years before our era, at least in its essential parts, for the learned exegete looks upon all the hagiographical books as of a still later date. This, then, is the first landmark. And this first date being fixed, it remains to seek for a date immediately preceding, at which it is most suitable to place the composition of those books whose fortunes are thus being disposed of. Having discovered this second date, the books are attributed to it; and then we may feel certain that we have found the real date we were seeking. Now, between the year 600 and the year 200 B.C. only the last two centuries presented a period of peace and of calm sufficient to have given birth to the numerous books of the Holy Scripture. *Therefore they must have been composed during that period*. Then M. Vernes arranges them according

to the rank which seems to suit them; and in this distribution he gives the *last* place to the Book of Psalms.

We cannot pretend here to discuss M. Vernes' system in its entirety; it would require volumes. We will only, before devoting attention to our principal object, the Age of the Psalms, say something on this fundamental principle—and merely a few and brief words. We deeply regret being obliged to answer M. Vernes in this summary manner, holding him, as we do, in particular esteem; but it seems impossible for us to understand how a judicial mind like his could be blinded by an illusion. He does not appear to see that his argument is anything but logical, and that he opens the way for all those "personal appreciations" which he himself justly condemns as unscientific. "The existence of such a book is authentically attested only since such a date; *therefore* it was composed a short time previously, and at the epoch which appears to be the most suitable to its composition." There you have the whole principle! It is impossible not to see that the first part of the conclusion is a sophism, and that the second is but the result of an arbitrary judgment of purely subjective taste. The only deduction that can legitimately be made is, that the date of composition is *unknown*; any other is wider than the premisses, and vitiated by sophistry. To determine the most "suitable" epoch to which to assign any book must be a question of taste and personal sentiment; it is building upon the moving sand of the desert. M. Vernes invokes the rules of historical criticism, and does not perceive that he violates them at every point. What historical literature has ever received such treatment? Always and everywhere, if a people presents its annals in regular order, they are accepted; that is, if their contents do not render acceptance impossible. What do we know of the ancient history of those peoples, isolated entirely from the world, from Europe and Western Asia—of the Chinese, the Tartars, the Aztecs, the Peruvians, and so many others—if not from themselves? Would one consign all their annals to the flames, or hold them of no account? Why should traditions be false *a priori*? Why should the Bible be treated differently from the annals of even barbarous peoples? All that M. Vernes tells us of the pretended arbitrary character of the tradition which assigns a date and author to the books of the Bible shows him to be himself most completely arbitrary. In making such an accusation, M. Vernes affirms what he does not and cannot know. Besides which, he forgets that there are other sources of certainty than exterior testimony; that a book may carry in itself the credentials of its authenticity. Let us quote a single example. How was it possible for an

author of the fourth century B.C. to know the names of the ruined Egyptian localities through which the Israelites passed? Why did the author of Leviticus imitate Egypt rather than Babylon? We need not, however, discuss any further a point so simple and clear. We pass on to our principal object: the Age of the Psalms.

The Psalms were composed long after the Captivity, says Kuenen; they were the last effort of Biblical genius, adds M. Vernes. Welhausen lays it down as a principle—and Professor Cheyne warmly approves—that the post-Exilian composition of the Psalms is certain; so certain, indeed, that nothing is left for its opponents, except perhaps to show that one or other Psalm may belong to an anterior epoch. Now, what gives to the New Criticism this tone of assurance? How can it assume as almost, if not quite, a certainty, the later age of those hymns, the greater portion of which tradition attributed to King David?

Because, they say, the Psalms are of a liturgical character, and this indicates a sacerdotal origin; but no epoch suits so well a sacerdotal production as does the epoch in which the priests ruled the nation, and when the civil as well as the religious power was in their hands. These Hymns of the Sanctuary, it is clear, did not come into existence during a period distracted by incessant wars and revolutions, nor did they emanate from a prince who, like David, was always compelled to stand with sword drawn to defend his country and his throne, and whose disposition, somewhat cruel as it was, is in strong contrast to the sentiments of the sacred bard who composed these hymns for the ceremonies of the temple.

Others, however, on the contrary, have discovered in the Psalms characteristics such as do not allow them to be regarded as anything else than the warlike songs of the Machabees!

In fact, the basis of all these chronological conclusions rests upon the "scent" of these keen critics, which enables them to determine with assurance what time, or what persons such and such documents suit or do not suit. We will not allow ourselves to doubt the refined nature of the sensitive and apprehensive faculties of these learned critics; we will suppose that it is very much superior to that of the common lot of men, that it even touches upon genius. We will only ask them how comes it that this superior perception leads those who are endowed with it to such contradictory results that what one sees white another sees black; that some of them detect quite a warlike inspiration, where others, just as learned no doubt, perceive only the peaceful and balmy inspirations of the sanctuary?

We might content ourselves with this reflection, and oppose

this self-contradiction to the New Criticism as an incontestable demurrer. But this reply is not sufficient, except to show that personal appreciations, subjective perceptions, are very bad guides, and that all reasoning and criticism established upon this basis errs from its source, and does not guarantee one single legitimate affirmation or one serious hypothesis. But from the point of view of the age of the books of the Bible this is but a negative argument, which leaves the main point of the debate entirely undecided. We require proofs which go to the kernel of the difficulty. With regard to the Psalms, the question is a very wide one, and we cannot attempt to examine it in its entirety; we will therefore limit ourselves to the two most important points—viz., the possibility of the authorship of David, and the chronological indications of the text.

But before beginning we must mark out the ground for debate, and eliminate whatever has no right to a place there. That *some* Psalms do not date back farther than the time following the return from Babylon and the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem, we shall not call in question. That tradition has attributed to David certain Psalms that are not his at all, but are of some contemporary or posterior hymnologist, and dating from an epoch other than the monarchy; that the name of the great king having been found at the head of certain Psalms, has also been placed at the head of others to which he had no right, we admit no less easily. We are simply concerned with the bulk, the main body of the Psalms as a whole, and not of one or other hymn in particular. This being said, and with these reserves, let us return to our two points.

I. David, it is objected, was a warlike king, of a violent and cruel character, whose life was passed in military expeditions of every kind; and one cannot understand a prince of this disposition being at the same time the author of hymns that breathe peace of soul and tender devotion. Such is the argument in its full force: what are we to think of it? In our opinion the answer cannot be doubtful. Even had David been such as he is depicted, and nothing else, the question resolves itself into this other one: Do not human characters ever present contrasts? Who would dare to answer in the negative? In fact, if theory tells us that these contrasts have nothing impossible in them, experience teaches us that they are very often met with. Without seeking them very far back in history, what do we find, for example, in Frederick the Great and in Napoleon? It is certain that both the one and the other were quite as warlike as David, and even more so, since their military campaigns were generally aggressive and conquering; and as for their character, one would not doubtless maintain that it was much more humane than

David's. The man of iron and of blood, who said that "in battle minutes were everything, men nothing," who cannonaded the ice so as to engulf entire armies beneath its fall, had not more refined feelings than the king of Israel defending his country and his throne by means which were entirely in conformity with the spirit of his time, and quite necessary in his eyes. But of these two monarchs, of such warlike spirit, the one, nevertheless, was the zealous protector of letters and of philosophy, delighting to practise himself the art of rhetoric, and even to compose madrigals; the other, a politician, putting all his energy into the establishing of peace in his States, and in bringing back calm to men's minds, and the reign of law; being able at one and the same time to conduct a murderous expedition, and to discuss a point of legislature even in its minutest details. This argument, then, leads us entirely astray. But has it not at least some value in the present case in particular, because of certain exceptional circumstances?

To be certain upon this point, let us verify what is alleged of the great king of Israel, and see if his actions do really show a character incompatible with that of the sacred poet. To do this, let us briefly recall the events of his life.

To begin with, the physiognomy of David appears to us from the first under two traits, which do not speak at all in favour of the alleged impossibility. The youth of the future king of Israel is passed in tending the flocks and in playing the *kinnor*. He excelled in playing this musical instrument to such an extent that the officers of Saul believed him capable of charming away by his music the evil spirit which agitated their master. We know that he succeeded perfectly in accomplishing this difficult task. (See 1 Kings xvi. 23.) It may be presumed that David was not only a harpist, but that he accompanied with his voice the sounds of his *kinnor*. But at this very period he was remarkable as a young man of warlike spirit, which proves that the two qualities were certainly combined in him. After this the days of David are divided between wars against the enemies of Israel and flying from the snares laid for him by Saul; but when that unfortunate king falls under the stroke of the Divine reprobation, the poet at once shows himself beneath the warrior's garb, and David composes an elegy upon the death of his friend and of the unfortunate monarch. The following years are filled with fresh struggles against the partisans of Saul and enemies from without, and also with the conquest of Jerusalem. But scarcely is he installed as king of the Holy City when he thinks of bringing thither the ark of the Lord. And further, he who before every undertaking consulted the Lord as to what part he should take, joins in the procession which conducted the sacred tabernacle to

its new resting-place, and, attired in a linen ephod, plays his harp, sings, and dances with all his might. Certainly, if anything were incompatible in itself with a warlike character, it would be this conduct of the son of Jesse; still, the record of the one is just as authentic as the record of the other. It is, then, incontestable that David, though constantly wielding the sword, was none the less a man of poetical and religious sentiments—that the splendour of Divine worship was dear to him. Consequently one cannot be surprised that he wished to add to it by either composing himself, or causing to be composed, sacred hymns in God's honour. Do we not see him, a little later, resolved to erect a magnificent temple to the Lord? (2 Kings vii.); then, after the promise which God made to him to exalt his son and successor, and to treat him like a father, we see him enter the tabernacle and improvise, in a burst of gratitude, a hymn of thanksgiving, which is in reality nothing but a psalm:

Who am I, O Adonai Jehovah, and what is my house that thou hast brought me thus far? And what can David say more unto thee, for thou knowest thy servant, O Adonai Jehovah? Thou art magnified, O Jehovah, because there is none like to thee, neither is there any God beside thee according to the things we have heard with our ears. . . . O Adonai Jehovah, thou art God, and thy works are truth (2 Kings vii. 18–29).

The same sentiments are manifested throughout the wars that followed these events, when the pious king consecrates to the Lord the vases of gold and silver which belonged to the king of Emath, and the treasures taken from the king of Saba. At the close of these struggles, and when David was forty years old, we see him delegating the command of his armies to his generals, and he himself taking no part in warlike struggles, except at such times as victory seemed to be escaping from them (*ibid.*, ix., x. and xi.). The vanquisher of all his enemies, as well as of the revolts of Absalom and of Seba, David composes a canticle of praise to the glory of God, who had given him victory:

Jehovah is my firmament, my refuge, and my deliverer. My God is my helper, and in Him will I put my trust; my protector and the horn of my salvation, and my support. Praising; I will call upon Jehovah; and I shall be saved from my enemies. The sorrows of death surrounded me; and the torrents of Belial troubled me. The sorrows of Sheol encompassed me; and the snares of death prevented me. In my affliction, I called upon Jehovah; and I cried to my God. And He heard my voice from His holy temple; and my cry before Him came into his ears. The earth shook and trembled; the foundations of the mountains were troubled and were moved, because He was angry with them. There went up a smoke in His nostrils; and a fire from His mouth devoured (the earth); coals

were kindled by it. He bowed the heavens and came down ; and darkness was under His feet. And He ascended upon the cherubim, and He flew upon the wings of the winds. And He made darkness His covert, His pavilion round about Him ; the floods of waters, the clouds of the air. From the brightness that was before Him, the coals were kindled and took fire. And Jehovah thundered from heaven, and the highest gave His voice ; hail and coals of fire. And He sent forth His arrows, and He scattered them ; His lightnings, and troubled them. Then the bed of the sea appeared, and the foundations of the world were discovered. At thy rebuke, O Jehovah, at the blast of the spirit of thy wrath (2 Kings xxii.).

And so he continues through fifty verses. We have given this passage from the Second Book of Kings at length, because of its extreme importance to the question which occupies us ; for in the first place it forms an absolutely peremptory answer to the attempt to deprive David of his poetical genius and of his pious sentiments ; and secondly, because this same hymn of gratitude is found, over again, and almost in the same terms, in the 17th Psalm, and many of the verses are repeated in other Psalms ; which, more or less, permits the presumption that these Psalms are due to the same author, and that to contest the Davidic authorship of them is an arbitrary proceeding. If, on the other hand, we choose to look upon the testimony of the 22nd chapter of the Second Book of Kings as false, then the whole Bible must be a gigantic falsehood, and there is no use troubling ourselves at all with it. In any case, we can no longer argue from the warlike character of King David, for he is known only from the same book whose testimony is rejected upon this one point alone.

We will not quote all the passages which are analogous to the different verses in the Song of David. Let us take as examples only : Ps. cxliii. 1. "Blessed be the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to fight, and my fingers to war" (*cf.* 2 Kings xxii. 35). 2. "My mercy, and my refuge ; my support, and my deliverer : my protector, and I have hoped in Him" (*ibid.* 2, 3). 3. "Lord, bow down thy heavens and descend : touch the mountains, and they shall smoke" (*ibid.* 10, 15).

David lived for eleven years after this victory, but his days were occupied only with the cares of his kingdom and works of piety. During this space of time, which was considerable enough, he was certainly able to give to his feelings towards the God of his fathers, his Protector, and his Saviour, all the effusions of his ardent soul. The Second Book of Samuel or of Kings does not tell us this ; but what precedes sufficiently indicates that the great events of his life provided the pious king with the occasion of composing certain poems, as proof of

his friendship, of his devotion, and of his various other sentiments. We must of necessity return to this reflection later on, for it is of the highest importance to the subject. We shall see, moreover, that the Paralipomena fill up this gap.

It is, therefore, certain that David may very well have been the author of a number of Psalms more or less considerable, and that to deny him the poetic faculty would be simply what is called "denying evidence." For it is an absolute certainty that he did compose some, and that he was inspired by remarkable events in such a manner as to enable him to improvise long and magnificent odes. And if David himself could compose, he may also have employed others to compose under his direction; and this is quite sufficient to have the authorship ascribed to him.

II. Having once gained this point, it remains for us to discover which Psalms carry in themselves a certain date, and one anterior to the captivity of Babylon, for this is the essential point. We do not intend, however, to enter into all the details that this discussion involves; we will simply indicate the landmarks which may serve for a complete solution.

(1) There are certain Psalms which, one might say, bear the author's signature in themselves. Such, for example, is Psalm cxxxi. (or cxxxii.) which commences thus:

O Lord, remember David and all his meekness. How he swore to the Lord, he vowed a vow to the God of Jacob. If I shall enter into the tabernacle of my house; if I should go up into the bed wherein I lie: if I shall give sleep to my eyes, or slumber to my eyelids, until I find out a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob. Behold we have heard of it in Ephrata; we have found it in the land of the forest. We will go into his tabernacle; we will adore in the place where his feet stood. Arise, O Lord, into thy resting-place; thou and the ark of thy holiness. For thy servant David's sake, turn not away the face of thy Anointed. The Lord hath sworn truth to David, and He will not turn from it: of the fruit of thy womb, I will set upon thy throne. . . . There will I bring forth a horn [power] to David; I have prepared a lamp [glory] for my Anointed.

It would be impossible to relate in a better manner a fact in the life of David, with all its precise details.

In the sixth chapter of the Second Book of Kings (or Samuel) is found even the name of the place where, says the Psalm, the Ark was found again. *בְּרֵיִשׁ* alludes to the town of Cariathiarim, where the Ark rested. It is the land of forests, or rather the town of forests. Furthermore, the promise that Solomon should reign after David, and the dynasty of this king be perpetuated, recalls the seventh chapter of the same book. Finally, the

qualification of "Anointed" of the Lord is particularly suited to David, who *was* anointed neither more nor less than three times, as we shall see later on.

What we have just quoted of the "Memento Domine David" is applicable in a particular manner to Psalm lxxxviii., in which we find reproduced part of the expressions which we see in the one hundred and thirty-first :

The mercies of the Lord I will sing for ever. I will shew forth thy truth with my mouth to generation and generation.

The Lord has said : I have made a covenant with my elect : I have sworn to David my servant : Thy seed will I settle for ever. And I will build up thy throne [and maintain it] unto generation and generation. I have exalted my chosen one out of my people. I have found David my servant : with my holy oil I have anointed him.

Once have I sworn by my holiness : I will not lie unto David : his seed shall endure for ever. And his throne as the sun before me.

But thou hast rejected and despised : Thou hast been angry with thy Anointed.

Thou hast overthrown thy promise : Thou hast profaned his diadem upon the earth : Thou hast broken down all his protections : Thou hast made his strength fear. All that pass by the way have robbed him : he is become a reproach to his neighbours. Thou hast set up the right hand of them that oppress him : and thou hast not assisted him in battle.

Lord, where are thy ancient mercies, according to what thou didst swear to David in thy truth ?

Be mindful, O Lord, of the reproach of thy servants, which I have borne alone for all. Therewith thy enemies have reproached the fall of thy Anointed.

Blessed be the Lord for evermore !

Here we find indisputable allusion to the Divine promises of which we have already spoken (2 Kings), and a description of the miserable state to which David was reduced when he was flying before Absalom, when Semei flung stones and insults at the almost dethroned king—for Absalom was in occupation of Jerusalem, and had taken to himself the royal concubines (2 Kings xvii.). "Lord, remember Thy servant," he said, in the depth of his fall. "Who shall preserve himself from death, and from the dangers that threaten life ?" (Ps. lxxxviii. 48, 49). "Thou hast shortened the days of his reign : thou hast covered him with ignominy." It would be indeed difficult to show more clearly the occasion and the object of these words.

Still more precise is the text of Psalms lix. and cvii., in which we read these significant words :

I will rejoice, and I will divide Sichem : and I will mete out the

vale of tabernacles. Galaad is mine, and Manasses is mine, and Ephraim is the strength of my head. Juda is my chief, Moab is my washpot. I will crush Edom with my heel, and the foreign peoples, the Philistines, will unite themselves to me. Who will lead me into the fortress? Who will conduct me into the heart of Edom?

We should very much like to know to what epoch after the return from the Captivity these words could refer; what civil or religious leader could have made use of such language, and promised himself the conquest of Edom, and the sacking of Moab, in the manner shown in our psalm.

If, however, we refer to tradition, there we find such a natural and simple explanation that we are constrained to accept it. In fact, we read, in 2 Kings viii., that David defeated Moab, and measured its warriors by a cord, to decide the lot of his prisoners; that he vanquished Syria, as well as the sons of Ammon and Amalec; that he smote 13,000 Syrian warriors in the valley of the salt pits, and that he reduced Edom to captivity. The tone of our hymn agrees perfectly, moreover, with the warlike character of David. If any exegete has the courage to maintain that all this is an innovation, and fitted together artificially so as to suit the sixth or seventh century B.C., we need not give ourselves the trouble of contradicting him—a useless trouble, moreover, for one must be either a mere partisan or a stranger to the meaning of history, to affirm anything of the sort. Such a thing has never happened in the annals of humanity.

This psalm furnishes us with still another proof of its origin, and is one to many points of which we must pay attention in what follows. The king of Israel is distinguished in it as the “Anointed” of the Lord. Now this term is applicable to David alone. This qualification, taken thus in an isolated manner and *nuncupative*, is either applied without specifying to whom it applies, or with the single name of King David. It is said clearly enough elsewhere that such a prophet anointed such a king or such another prophet; that the High Priest was anointed so as to be consecrated to the service of the Lord (see *inter alia*, 3 Kings xix., xv. and xvi.); but no other than David is ever styled *substantively* “The Anointed,” “The Anointed of the Lord of Israel.” It is, then, contrary to all principles of criticism to make it, without any motive, relate to any other person.

(2) Other psalms bear witness to their date in a different manner, but none the less evidently. In the first place, in Psalm lxxi. the author invokes the Divine protection upon the king and the king’s son, and then announces the destiny and the great actions of this prince:

And he shall rule from sea to sea, and from the [national] river unto the ends of the earth. Before him the Ethiopians shall fall down: and his enemies shall lick the ground. The kings of Tharsis and the islands shall offer presents: the kings of the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts. And all the kings of the earth shall adore him: all nations shall serve him. And he shall live [long], and to him shall be given the gold of Arabia. And there shall be a firm power on the earth on the tops of mountains; above Libanus shall the fruit thereof be exalted.

This cannot have been written otherwise than under the kings, since it speaks of a king of Israel and of his son, and among the kings there are but David and Solomon to whom this can reasonably apply. Putting the prophetic point of view on one side, we must admit that Solomon alone realised what is said in this canticle. He it was who received gold from Arabia, the homage of the Queen of Saba, &c.

It is absolutely improbable that this psalm can have been composed after the Captivity. It certainly was not the work of the priests, masters as they were of the people, nor what they would have wished the minds of their subjects to be filled with. The sacerdotal power must have been much dearer to them than that of the kings, the remembrance of whom, in the manner they are represented, could be only harmful to their power and their prestige. There are even a number of psalms which sing the praises of royalty; but we will speak of them later on. Before doing so, we must finish the examination of those which David has, so to speak, signed with his own hand.

As such we must consider those that relate the history of Israel, the wonders which God worked in favour of His people, and which terminate their recital at the reign of the son of Jesse (Ps. lxxvii.):

Listen to my law, O my people [says the inspired poet], incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in parables, I will tell the secrets of old. That which we have heard, which we know, and which our fathers have told us, so that future generations may know it, and that they may put their hope in God, and may not forget the works of God, and may seek [meditate on] His commandments, and may not be as their fathers, a stubborn and perverse generation, and whose spirit was not faithful to God; [such as were] the sons of Ephraim, who bend and shoot with the bow, but who turned back in the day of battle. They kept not the covenant of God, they forgot the miracles He worked for them in Egypt, in the field of Tanis.

After this the poet recalls these wonders of the Divine protection: the passage of the Red Sea, between the waters heaped up on either side; the pillars of cloud and of fire which guided

the Israelites across the desert; the water which gushed forth from the rock, notwithstanding the insulting defiance of the people; the sending of the manna, which for so long fed so great a number of fugitives; also of the quails obtained by the murmurs of the people, which God punished with severity. Then the poet tells of the infidelity of this people chosen by God; the chastisements with which they were in consequence overwhelmed, and which brought them back to God by reminding them of the evils with which He had punished the Egyptians. He then goes on to relate the events that took place in the Promised Land; the carrying off the ark by the Philistines; the fresh infidelity of the Israelites, which forced God to reject the tribe of the descendants of Joseph, and to choose His elect, the prince of His people, from the tribe of Juda. He finishes with these words:

He chose David his servant, he took him from among the flocks of sheep, to feed his servant Jacob and Israel his heritage. And he fed them in the innocence of his heart, and conducted them by the skilfulness of his hands (*ibid.* lxx.—lxxii.).

We do not hesitate to say that the slightest historical sense necessarily obliges us to recognise that these pages could not possibly have been written after the Captivity, or under the government of the priests. Such certainly is not the language which would have been adopted by Zorobabel, Nehemias, Esdras, or any of their successors. It would have no *raison d'être*, and would have been highly imprudent, and very unsuited to produce the effect which the pastors of Israel were obliged to aim at above everything. To relate such events, which had been forgotten or invented, to recall to mind the glory of David, would have been entirely contrary to reason. And this scene, to which only a simple allusion is made—the overthrow and the flight of the people of Ephraim—what place could it possibly have in a composition of the fourth or fifth century? At the very least, the author of this piece would have explained what he meant to say, unless he wished to speak so that he might not be understood. We need not insist, therefore, upon any superfluous proofs.

(3) Other psalms, without mentioning David, relate in the same manner the events which happened from the time of the flight from Egypt until the entry into Palestine, or the establishment of the kingdom; and therefore they cannot, any more than the preceding ones, have been composed after the return from Babylon. Among others, there are Psalms lxxvi., civ., cv., cvi., and others besides, which recall the faults committed by the Jewish people in the desert, and which make absolutely no mention of events that happened after the Captivity, and which

must have been the most striking example for the chiefs of Israel of the Divine justice, and would therefore naturally have come to their minds more readily than the events in the desert which had taken place, it is asserted, eight centuries before, or rather had been invented by these clumsy forgers. Could one imagine a French Tyrtæus in the year 1892 recalling to the mind of his compatriots the invasion of the Germans in the fifth century, instead of the war of 1870, when exhorting them to retrieve the military honour of the French name? Yet such is the act which we are asked to attribute to Nehemias, Esdras, and their successors.

Let us examine only one of these psalms, so as not to fall into weary prolixity. We will take at hazard the 106th. The sacred bard is wishful to strengthen the sentiment of respect in the Jews, and of obedience towards their religious chiefs, who have given them a law according to their own heart in the name of God and of Moses. We are in the sixth century B.C., perhaps in the fourth, if not the second, and some two or three hundred years after the return from the Captivity. To inspire himself with the necessary sentiments he has before his mind the terrible example of the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem, of the successive captivities of Israel and of Juda. He has also, if necessary, in the next place, events of the highest importance, such as those of the reign of Solomon, of Josias, of Ezechias, of Josaphat, or again of Joas, of Manasses, and of Joakim, of which the people still have some remembrance. Instead of making use of these, he goes in search of remote events, invented either by himself or his predecessors, and which cannot reasonably make any impression upon his hearers. Such are the Israelites of the tenth century, represented as going out of Egypt, understanding nothing of the wonders worked before their eyes, irritating the Lord by their idolatry, their greed, and their meanness, their worship of Beelphegor, their impious sacrifices, and their marriages with pagan women in the land of Chanaan. He reminds them, at the same time, that God has successively pardoned all their crimes, that He has restored to them His favour, and then he prays the Lord to continue to act in this manner. One must acknowledge that this is a very unskilful manner of securing the fidelity of the people to the laws of the priests. Above all is this true of the part which alludes to the fault of Moses, an allusion not at all likely to confirm the people in the respect due to the priesthood.

(4) Others of the psalms are dated in much the same manner, though differing somewhat in details. They are those in which the author speaks of himself as King of Israel, or exalts the royalty of David. To suppose that this language had been

made use of by a successor of Esdras would be to suppose him to be completely void of sense. It is not even possible to attribute it to the last of Machabees invested with the title of king. Neither Simon, nor John Hyrcanus, nor Aristobulus would have been able to say such things as we read in these Psalms. Furthermore, these religious songs were in existence before the Machabees. Those we wish to refer to here are principally Psalms ii., xvii., xxvii., xlv., lix., lx., lxii., lxvii., lxxi., lxxxiii., lxxxviii., xcvi., cvii., and cxxxi. Let us look over them rapidly, gathering upon our way such passages as are interesting to us for the moment.

In Psalm ii. the sacred author rises up against the peoples who rebel against God and against His Anointed:

Why have the nations raged, and the peoples devised vain things against the Lord and His Anointed?

Let us break their bonds asunder [they said], and let us cast away their yoke from us.

He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them, and the Lord shall deride them. But I am appointed king by him over Sion. . . . The Lord hath said to me, Thou art my son. . . . Thou shalt rule [the nations] with a rod of iron, and shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel. And now, O ye kings, understand: receive instructions, you that judge the earth.

Serve ye the Lord with fear: and rejoice unto Him with trembling.

Let us put this language, whatever be its meaning, into the mouth of a Hyrcanus, an Aristobulus, or some less famous priest, and we shall immediately fall into the ridiculous. Such pretension in personages of the kind, if it ever could be conceived and display itself, would have instantly cast them into ridicule.

Exactly the same may be said of Psalm xvii., the author of which, after having praised his great actions and the wonders of the Divine protection, finishes with these words:

Therefore will I give glory to thee, O Lord, among the nations, and I will sing a psalm to thy name.

Giving great deliverance to his king, and showing mercy to David his Anointed: and to his seed for ever.

Could any kinglet, a "descendant of the Machabees," possibly give himself important airs in this manner? We will do no one the injury of believing him capable of answering in the affirmative. Besides, how possibly could this psalm have fraudulently inserted itself into the versification of the Septuagint? But to continue.

In Psalm xix. the last verse reads thus: "O Lord, save the king: and hear us in the day that we shall call upon thee." If this was an isolated verse one might, at a stretch, though without any plausible motive, maintain that this passage could be applied

to the Machabean kings; but what renders this hypothesis impossible is this other verse which precedes it, and which runs: "Now have I known that the Lord hath saved his *Anointed*." Now the post-Exilian kings of Jerusalem never had any claim to this last qualification, and it can be affirmed that wherever it is used it designates either the Messiah or David. This consideration will exempt us for the future from occupying ourselves with the puny royalty of the predecessors of Herod. There is no reason which would allow of any distinction being made between Psalm xix. and any of the others which speak of the king of Israel; notably the one that follows, Psalm xx. This psalm commences with these words:

In thy strength, O Lord, the king shall joy; and in thy salvation he shall rejoice exceedingly.

And it continues thus:

He asked life of thee: and thou hast given him length of days for ever and ever.

His glory is great in thy salvation: glory and great beauty dost thou lay upon him. For thou dost give him to be a blessing for ever and ever. . . . For the king hopeth in the Lord: thou shalt make him joyful in gladness with thy countenance.

Evidently this language cannot but be attributed to a pious king and to an illustrious reign such as that of David, Solomon, or Ezechias.

Of a different kind, but possessing an analogous meaning, is Psalm xliv., the famous "*Eruetabit cor meum verbum bonum*." The singer addresses himself to the king; to the king, he says, I consecrate my work:

Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty. . . . The daughters of kings have delighted thee in thy glory. . . . The queen stood on thy right hand in golden clothing. . . . Harken, O daughter, and see. . . . And the king shall greatly desire thy beauty. . . . And the daughters of Tyre with gifts, yea, all the rich among the people, shall entreat thy countenance.

Although this does not properly apply to an earthly king, but to the King of heaven—or, at least, these two ideas are very closely united—these, again, are conceptions which lead to the supposition of a flourishing royalty at Jerusalem. We will only mention Psalm lx. *en passant*, in which we read these words:

Thou wilt add days to the days of the king: his years even to generation and generation. He abideth for ever in the sight of the Lord.

This evidently alludes to the Divine promises made to David,

according to 2 Kings vii. and xvi. It is also to this prince that undoubtedly the words of Psalm lxii. apply :

But they [my enemies] have sought my soul in vain : they shall go into the lower parts of the earth. . . . But the king shall rejoice in God (Elohim) : all they shall be praised that swear by him.

To him and to Solomon are applicable those words of Psalm lxxi., of which we have already made mention : " Give to the king thy judgment, O God (Elohim) ; and to the king's son thy justice." And all this allegorical idea of the grandeur of earthly royalty could have been inspired only by the event of the two greatest monarchs who ever reigned over the people of God.

Only Solomon, moreover, could have been the " Rex virtutum " (*Malek Tsëbaoth*) of Psalm lxvii., who waited for the ambassadors from Egypt (ver. 32) and from Ethiopia, with his hands raised towards God.

Let us again mention Psalm xcviii., in which the author tells us that " the king's honour depends upon his just judgments," and then pass on, so as to speak more explicitly of another category of psalms of which we have said but a passing word. They are those in which the author speaks of himself as the " Anointed of the Lord," a qualification which can be applied, as we have seen, only to David, or at most to Solomon, and which cannot be attributed to the petty kings of the Machabees. This expression occurs in Psalms ii., xvii., xix., xxvii., lxxxiii., lxxxviii., civ., and cxxi. ; some among which have already been referred to in what precedes. We will only pause an instant to glance at the others.

Psalm vii. 52 tells us that God showed mercy to David, His Anointed. The 19th, that God saved him from his enemies. In the 27th, David implores the aid of God against his enemies ; he blesses Him for having heard his voice. It is He—his hope—who has made his flesh to flourish again ; then he adds that the Lord is the joy of His people, the power which saves His Anointed from danger. In Ps. lxxxiii. 10, the poet, singing of the grandeur, of the delights of the tabernacle : " Behold, O God, our protector," he cries, " and look on the face of thy Anointed ; " *i.e.*, of him whom the Lord hath chosen and consecrated as the supreme chief of His people. Psalm lxxxviii. deserves special attention, as it once more, and in a marked manner, shows us that the Anointed of the Lord is truly David, even though other kings of Israel, or of other countries, or even priests and prophets, may have been sanctified in this manner. This psalm, which calls to mind the mercies of Elohim and the favours which He has granted to His people, mentions equally both the past and future greatness of David and of his race :

I have exalted my chosen one out of my people (says God) : I have found David my servant : with my holy oil I have anointed him. For my hand shall help him : and my arm shall strengthen him. The enemy shall have no advantage over him : nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him. But my mercy I will not take from him : neither will I profane my covenant. . . . Once have I sworn by my holiness : I will not lie unto David ; his seed shall endure for ever. And his throne as the sun before me. . . .

At the same time, David is in trouble ; he is driven from his capital, and his throne is in danger :

But thou hast rejected and despised me : thou hast been angry with thy *Anointed*. . . . Thou hast overthrown the covenant of thy servant : thou hast profaned his sanctuary on the earth. All that pass by the way insult him. . . . Thou hast shortened the days of his time. . . . Lord, where are thy ancient mercies, according to what thou didst swear to David in thy truth ? . . . Be mindful, O Lord, of the reproach of thy servants. . . . Where-with thy enemies have reproached, O Lord, wherewith they have reproached the passing by of thy Anointed [flying from his enemies].

This is the history of the son of Jesse related over again, and of him alone.

We do not insist upon the other psalms of which mention has been made previously, and we conclude from all that we have said so far, that there are at least forty psalms the antiquity of whose date cannot seriously be contested.

III. Is this all, and must we stop here ? I do not think so. There still remains quite a long list of psalms, the date of which is rendered eminently probable by the perfect agreement between their contents, and the occasion which a constant tradition assigns to them, and thus constitute a second indication which corroborates the first. The greater number of them relate to one or other of the events in the life of David which very naturally seems to have inspired the royal singer ; and to deny him the authorship can be nothing else but a completely arbitrary proceeding. In every other matter we keep scrupulously to the common rules of historical criticism, and there is no reason why, because both Jews and Christians believe in the inspiration of the Bible, there should be any violation of these rules in what concerns them.

We cannot enter into all the details which relate to this subject, nor into the minute examination of another class of these psalms, which might furnish still more matter for strong probabilities—namely, those which bear witness to a state of peace, of grandeur, of prosperity, which we may look for in vain outside of the reigns of David, Solomon, and of two or three other sove-

reigns of Juda, and consequently in the time anterior to the Babylonian captivity. For Juda knew no more peaceful days, except under the Lagides, and then she was dependent upon a strange people. Moreover, as we shall see later on, to suppose the composition of the Psalms to have taken place under the kings of Egypt would be to commit a most remarkable, if not a most regrettable oversight; it would be to forget the date of the version of the Septuagint which was executed under the second Ptolemy, towards the commencement of the third century B.C., or else towards the middle of the same. We will therefore merely pass in brief review these two kinds of Psalms, and will content ourselves with a few summary remarks.

The principal circumstances in the life of David which supplied subjects to the Psalms are: the persecutions of Saul; the wars, successful or otherwise, that he engaged in; his hymns of thanksgiving; his flight from the revolt of Absalom; and the repentance of his two great sins. Taking the Psalms successively in the order in which we find them in the Bible, for the greater facility of our readers and of ourselves, we will note the following relations between these events and the different hymns.

Psalm iii. describes perfectly the fears and hopes of David, driven from Jerusalem by the still growing revolt:

Why, O Lord, are they multiplied that afflict me? Many are they who rise up against me. Many say to my soul, There is no salvation for him in his God. But thou, O Jehovah, art my protector, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I have cried to the Lord with my voice, and He hath heard me.

Psalm vi., like Psalm iv. and many others, enables us to hear the sighs and supplications of the penitent King:

O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak. I have laboured in my groanings; every night I will wash my bed: I will water my couch with my tears (vi. 1, 2, 7).

Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy. And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my iniquity. Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me. To thee only have I sinned, and I have done evil before thee. . . . Create a clean heart in me. . . . Deal favourably, O Lord, in thy good will with Sion; that the walls of Jerusalem may be built up. Then shalt thou accept the sacrifice of justice, oblations, and whole burnt offerings; then shall they lay calves upon thy altar. (1.)

Perhaps one might wish to take the last verse but one literally ("that the walls of Jerusalem may be built up"), and make it relate to the time which followed the return of the Jews to their own country. But it is quite evident that the "Miserere" is the

prayer of an individual, of a penitent sinner, and could not be put into the mouth of an entire people. And, from another point of view, it is impossible to discover during this period any action which could be considered as having provoked the composition of this psalm. We can say as much of Psalm xxxi. Psalms x., xii., xvii., and lviii. agree exactly with the time when David was flying from the anger of Saul, and thanking God for having escaped from it :

I will love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my firmament, my refuge, and my deliverer.

The sorrows of death surrounded me.

In Psalm xli. we find David wandering from place to place to escape from the violence of Saul, not daring to approach the spot in which the Ark of the Lord was kept, sending up to God the expression of his piety from the heart of the mountains of Hermon, whither he had fled for refuge :

As the hart panteth after the fountains of waters, so my soul panteth after thee, O God. My soul is troubled within myself; therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan and Hermon. Whilst my bones are broken, my enemies who troubled me have reproached me. Hope thou in God, for I will still give praise to Him : the salvation of my countenance and my God.

Psalm liv. represents the same king insulted in his flight by Semei; Psalm lix. recalls his campaign against Edom, as we have already seen above.

Let us here remark one point which we have passed over in the course of our examination. Psalm lxvii. 30 runs : "From thy temple in Jerusalem kings shall offer presents to thee," which proves the composition of this hymn to have taken place *before* the captivity of Babylon, and it may have been written after David had received the assurance that his son Solomon would erect the Temple to the Most High.

According to tradition, the hymns composed by David himself finish with Psalm lxxi. In Psalm lxxix. we may notice how the sacred poet expresses himself when he speaks in the name of the people, when he describes the evils of his oppressed co-religionists, and distinguish this collective lamentation from those which David himself utters when he is pursued, by Saul or Absalom for example. In fact here, as in all hymns of the same kind, all the terms are used in the plural ; it is no more "I, me," which point out the oppressed one, the persecuted, who has recourse to God ; but the poet speaks in the name of all : "Convert *us*, O God, and show *us* thy face, and *we* shall be saved. How long wilt thou feed *us* with the bread of tears," &c. Psalm lxxxii. is certainly anterior to the Captivity ; the poet sees Assyria begin-

ning to attack his people, and begs of God to treat them as He treated the people of Canaan who were vanquished by the Israelites under the command of the Judges. Psalms xc. and xcix. sing the praises of the Lord God of Israel. Psalm xcviii., entitled "A Psalm for David," has this special feature, that, enumerating the priests who were pleasing in God's sight, it mentions only Moses, Aaron, and Samuel. Without doubt this is not what the priests, the sovereign chiefs of the people, would have done after their return from exile.

Those which follow sing the praises of the Divine mercy without having any mark by which their origin can be traced. At the same time, in Psalm cxviii. 46 we read this phrase: "I spoke of thy commandments before kings, and I was not ashamed," which would be difficult to explain if it were not supposed to have been pronounced at the time which followed the return of the Jewish people to their own country.

Amongst the second class of psalms, or those which bear witness to a high degree of power and prosperity, we will name as specimens Psalms ii., viii., xviii., xxiii., xliii., xlv., xlv., xlvii., cix., and cxlix. Let us quote only a few words from them; our readers will easily be able to see the truth themselves. Here is the opening of Psalm xlvii.:

Great is the Lord, and exceedingly to be praised, in the city of our God (Jehovah), in his holy mountain. With the joy of the whole earth is Mount Sion founded, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king. . . . For behold the kings of the earth assembled themselves: they gathered together. So they saw and they wondered, they were troubled, they were moved: trembling took hold of them.

Can any such language be imagined to have been used in the Jerusalem of Esdras or of the Machabees? Certainly not. To believe such a thing all idea of criticism must be put aside. If these Psalms of which we have spoken up to now carry in themselves the proofs of their Davidic or royal origin, at the very least there are some others whose text, if taken literally, relates to the time of the Captivity itself, or to the return of the Jews into Palestine. Among these comes in the first place the "Super Flumina Babylonis," that admirable hymn of sorrow and of imprecation of the exiles of Juda; besides, Psalms xlii. and lii. have undoubtedly the same origin. Psalms lxv., lxxxiv., cxi., cxxv., and cxlvi. come from captives who have returned to their country. The Exile is spoken of in them as an event which was but of recent date:

Lord, thou hast blessed thy land: thou hast turned away the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people: thou hast covered all their sins (Ps. lxxxiv.). When the Lord

brought back the captivity of Sion, we became like men comforted. Then was our mouth filled with gladness : and our tongue with joy. Then shall they say among the Gentiles, The Lord hath done great things for them (Ps. cxxv.) Praise the Lord because . . . the Lord buildeth up Jerusalem, and gathers together the dispersed of Israel (Ps. cxlvi.).

This last psalm may equally well have been composed during the Exile.

There are, lastly, a certain number of these sacred hymns which have for sole subject some general idea, some high religious principle applicable to all times and all places. As regards these, historical criticism is powerless to determine, even hypothetically, any date whatever. If there be any exterior index which could authorise an hypothesis, it points rather to an ancient origin than otherwise. These indications are merely a tradition, which does not show any signs of genuine authenticity, and the growing presumption of this fact, that the greater part of the Psalms are certainly of antique origin. This is but little ; still it is something. The post-Exilian theory has no foundation.

If we would push the spirit of criticism to its farthest limits, we might, for example, maintain that Psalms xlix. and xl. could not possibly have the priest-sovereigns of post-Exilian times for authors, because these would probably not have endeavoured to inculcate upon their hearers the belief that sacrifice and holocausts are of little worth in the sight of God, that the only essential way to please Him is by contrition of heart. But we will not make use of proofs of this kind.

The tradition which relates to the subject and authorship of the Psalms does not really possess a character of such authority as would justify us in placing entire confidence in it. The exegetes of every school agree in admitting the risky character of its assertions. One thing, however, speaks in its favour—viz., its sincerity. It is easily seen that it tells what it believes and does not try to impose, or to raise the value of the object of its work. Thus at the end of Psalm lxxi. it tells us that this is the last composition of David ; it gives us the names of authors without trying to create an aureola for whoever they might be. It is, at the very least, the echo of an oral teaching or of studies of a serious nature.

One of the objections urged against attributing any Psalms at all to the penitent king is, that nowhere do we find him represented as the author of sacred hymns. But this is not quite exact. In the first place, the Book of Kings shows many odes or elegies composed by David.

Besides which, 2 Paralipomenon vii. 6, when relating the feasts celebrated on the occasion of the inauguration of the Temple

by Solomon, says : " And the priests stood in their offices : and the Levites with the instruments of music of the Lord, which King David made to praise the Lord."

It is true that nothing in all this is an apodictic proof ; but while on the one side there are admissible indications, and on the other there is nothing, the most ordinary prudence forbids us to reject these indications in order to obstinately cling to belief in castles in the air. To my mind the choice cannot be doubtful for a single moment.

The expedient which sets down the entire Bible as a production of the fourth and third centuries is so heroic an act that it cannot be received or discussed seriously. Esdras and his successors consecrating their whole lives and all their talent to glorify, by a whole series of falsehoods, Samuel, David, and the Davidic dynasty, is so extraordinary an hypothesis that it is only equalled by the easy faith of him who believes it. And what is more astonishing still is the complete success which this imposture has enjoyed. But we have said more than is necessary. We might doubtless have pushed our investigations beyond these limits, and looked more closely into details, and carried this essay much further. But we have said quite sufficient to allow us to conclude that a great many of the Psalms, the greater number in fact, certainly date from the time of David, or of the flourishing royalty of Juda—that some of them, only, were certainly composed during the Captivity, or shortly after. For the rest the date is absolutely uncertain, but there is no presumption, based upon any ground whatever, which allows us to transport them later than the time of Esdras, though some of them may have been composed at this epoch.

It will be seen, moreover, from the result of our examination, that external proofs are not always indispensable to allow us to determine the date of an ancient monument, that it may carry its date in itself, in such a manner as to provide a sufficient certainty for critical research.

CH. DE HARLEZ.



ART. VI.—CATHOLIC THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND.

IN venturing to call attention to the work of English theologians, it may be well at the outset to disclaim all sympathy with what is known as "Nationalism" in matters of religion. One of our foremost teachers has raised his warning voice against the dangerous spirit which bears that name. And the facts of history speak still more eloquently against it. We can see its workings in the movement which first severed England and other countries from Catholic unity; and, in a lesser degree, in the Gallicanism which once brought France to the verge of Schism. And if, in many cases, it was the original source of separation, it is everywhere one of the chief barriers against a return to the fold. "Nationalism" is the common characteristic of Churches which are else very far apart, and seems as surely a "note" of false religions as Catholicity is of the true. It is, indeed, only natural that this should be so. Heresy is essentially subjective, and rests on the private judgment, or opinion, of individuals; hence it may well be local or "national." But a Church whose principle is a certain faith in real objective truth, which must needs be one for all, cannot be thus bounded. Faith which is merely subjective and personal is not faith, but opinion; and a Church which is really "national" is no Church at all.*

We have surely good reason to be on our guard against this spirit of "Nationalism" in religion. And it is no wonder we have been so often warned against it. There is, however, a danger on the other side, which has received less attention, and is for that very reason the more to be feared. It often happens that in shrinking from one evil we fall into another; or, it may be, we find ourselves illustrating that proverbial meeting of extremes which Hegel seems to have felt so deeply. Such is only too likely to be the case here. If our dread of religious "Nationalism" is not tempered by discretion, it will lead us to cherish foreign habits of devotion to the neglect of all that is English. It will make us unmindful of our glorious past, and heedless of the lessons our fathers have left us. And what is the result? Catholic teaching or devotion is made to appear as something foreign—something, it may be, Roman, or Italian, or French—anyhow not English. In other words, religion is after all narrowed and localised.

* "Wer da sagt, 'Dies ist eben mein Glaube,' hat keinen Glauben. Glauben, Einheit des Glaubens, Universalität des Glaubens, sind Ein und Dasselbe, sind nur verschiedene Ausdrücke desselben Begriffs" (Möhler: "Symbolik," § 39).

Now, it is hardly necessary to insist that whatever is Catholic, so far as it is Catholic, is common to all nations, and what is common to all can be foreign to none. The Church triumphs over the narrowing isolating spirit of "nationalism," not because she is of no nation, but because she is of all. Her theology, her art, her literature, are never foreign; for she is everywhere at home. They are the common heritage of all her children in every age and in every land, all of them, indeed, with their own needs and their own special gifts, yet all having a share in the labours of others as well as in their own.

"*Humani nihil a me alienum puto*," says the Roman poet: how much more can we say that nothing Catholic is alien to us, for whom a higher touch than that of nature has made the whole world kin. Hence the history of Catholic literature, or art, or theology, in any age or country, no matter how distant, has its interest for us; for all are ours. At the same time that of our own land has surely some special claims on our attention, the more so that it has been so long neglected. Here, as in many other cases, we may well take a practical lesson from our Breviaries. In the feasts that come upon us day by day throughout the year we honour saints from well-nigh every land under heaven, and are thus made to feel our fellowship with the whole Catholic Church. But besides the saints of many nations whose feasts are in the general calendar, we have to keep a number of special feasts in honour of the saints of our own land. We are reminded of their glorious deeds and bidden to seek their prayers and pay them honour, while their memory is not being thus kept by others who are not their countrymen. The principle of this special devotion to our English saints surely seems to sanction a special interest in English theology, or, indeed, in the labours of our Catholic forefathers in other fields.

Catholic theology is one in all ages and in all lands. It is the common heritage of all, and men of every nation may cultivate it and help in its development. Let us, then, ask ourselves what part our fathers bore in this great work, and if so be profit by their example. It is likely that few among us are aware how much has really been done by Englishmen in the field of theology. The fact that early theologians all wrote in Latin tends to obscure the nationality of the writers. From this, and from other causes, it comes that the great body of Catholic theology in which our countrymen laboured, to say the least, as much as any others, is now accounted "foreign"; and "English theology" is identified with the fragmentary work of the famous Anglican divines. Hence, it will probably be thought that we are undertaking a hopeless task, where

we must needs gather together a few obscure writers, and seek to magnify their merits unduly.

This is very far from being the case. If there is any difficulty in our way, it certainly does not arise from lack of materials. It is rather an *embarras de richesses*. Were we really content to take all the names that come, without discrimination, the mere list would soon exhaust our space. On the other hand, if we attempt to do justice to the work of our theologians, and give some account of their writings, each one would furnish ample matter for a whole article. Our best plan will probably be to take a few of the more important writers in each successive period, and briefly point out the place they hold in the history of Catholic theology.

The age of the Fathers was already drawing to its close when the first English converts were gathered into the fold. Yet even in this first period of theology we have, at least, one great name to show. There is surely no need to dwell here on the merits of St. Bede, or to urge his claim to rank with the other Fathers of the West. His venerable name is written too large in the offices of Holy Church to be soon forgotten either in England or elsewhere. There are, indeed, very few Fathers whose words are more frequently read in the Divine office than those of our English saint. These homilies are mainly noticeable for their plain and homely character. There are, however, other portions of St. Bede's writings which show us that he could follow and appreciate the most profound speculations of the Greek and Latin Fathers. Let us instance his account of the Augustinian theory of simultaneous creation, and his comment on the words, "*Quod factum est, in Ipso vita erat.*" While we thus associate St. Bede with the earlier Fathers, with whom he has a true fellowship, we must not forget that in his own age he was almost alone. Standing, so to say, "between two worlds," the old Roman world dying or dead, the other happily not "powerless to be born," he hands on the treasures of the past to those who follow him. Is it national pride or prejudice that leads us to ascribe so much to the English Father? Let us answer this by referring our readers to the impartial testimony of a distinguished German writer, Carl Werner.*

One English writer of a somewhat later age may be mentioned here; for in character, if not in time, he belongs to the Fathers. This is St. Aelred of Rievaulx, the author of some spiritual works of singular sweetness and beauty. From the great likeness of

* See his monograph, "*Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit*," Wien, 1875. Werner has another similar work on Alcuin, "*Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert*," Paderborn, 1876; while in his works on the schoolmen, Englishmen take up a great part.

his writings to those of his greater contemporary, the Abbot of Clairvaux, he may well be called the English St. Bernard.*

In approaching the scholastic period, it may be well to look back and see what part our countrymen had in laying the foundations of its distinctive system. The theology of the mediæval schoolmen is built upon the writings of the Fathers, St. Bede among the rest. The doctrines are all drawn from these pure sources; but whence do they get the scientific form and luminous analysis which are the main features of this new period? Many causes might be mentioned as contributing to this result; but we may content ourselves with two of the most important: firstly, the schools themselves; and secondly, the great philosophical movement of which they were the scene. Now, if we trace the mediæval schools and universities back to their source, we are brought to the schools established by the Emperor Charles the Great. And it is hardly necessary to allude to the important part played in that foundation by the English Alcuin, that true disciple of St. Bede.

The philosophical movement was partly the natural and spontaneous outcome of free discussion in the schools, and partly due to the influence of Arabian and Greek philosophy, which were now first finding their way into the West. Among those who helped to bring in or translate the Eastern writings, we meet with more than one English name—for instance, the Platonist Adelard, of Bath, and somewhat later Robert Grosstête, of Lincoln. Our chief informant on the first great conflict concerning the "universals" is another Englishman, John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres. The elegance of his style, and his quaint and graphic description of the manners and customs, the fashions and follies of his day, lend additional charm to his writings. But their main value lies in the service they render to the history of philosophy. And, it should be added, he is no mere chronicler of the opinions of others: he gives us his own view on this crucial question. Here let us appeal once more to the impartial testimony of a German writer. Professor Stöckl makes good use of John of Salisbury in his account of the early scholastic struggle, and when he comes to speak of the English Bishop's own view of the matter he describes it as the right mean between the two extremes of Nominalism and Realism. The time was come, he adds, when, out of the strife, the true view could be formed.†

* A paper on St. Aelred and his writings appeared in the *Ave Maria* of March in the present year.

† "Man kann nicht verkennen, dass diese Ansicht von J. v. Salisbury von den Universalien ganz in jene Bahn einschlägt welche wir früher als die rechte Mitte zu den beiden Gegensätzen des Nominalismus und des excessiven

It is not easy to fix exactly the beginning of Scholastic Theology. In one way it may be said to open with the great name of St. Anselm, who we may observe in passing, though not an Englishman, was at least an English bishop. Others may look to the Abbey of St. Victor for the first schoolmen; but if Hugh and Richard have much in common with St. Thomas, their writings are none the less something *sui generis*, midway between the Fathers and the Schools. Genuine scholastic theology may, perhaps, be said to open with the "Books of Sentences." And here an Englishman was first in the field. The more famous work of Peter Lombard, so long the common text-book, was anticipated by the "Three Books of Sentences" written by Robert Pullen. As a happy omen of the union of theological eminence with the Roman purple which we have seen in our own days, it is interesting to note the fact that Pullen was, it would seem, the first English Cardinal. If his book marked an epoch in the history of theology, his active work in restoring and promoting studies at Oxford had, it is likely, still greater influence for good. Dom Mathoud, the Benedictine editor of the Cardinal's "Sentences," cherished the hope that some more of his writings may haply survive in English libraries. And he expressed a wish that his own edition might arouse the attention of Pullen's countrymen, so that one who is so worthy of being honoured by all might no longer be forgotten in his own land.*

Another English theologian of the days of Pullen and Peter Lombard was Robert of Melun, who succeeded Gilbert Foliot in the See of Hereford. He was one of the first to receive episcopal consecration at the hands of St. Thomas of Canterbury. A "Sum of Theology" from this English pen still lies in MSS. at Paris. Dom Mathoud gives us an extract in his notes to Pullen's "Sentences," and expresses a wish that the whole work might be published, a wish which his readers will readily share. Here it may be well to enter a word of warning against a very natural mistake. An unprinted work of a late writer, say Petavius or Suarez, can have little or no influence on those who follow, whatever may be the intrinsic merits of the book itself. It is far otherwise with writings of the twelfth century; when there was no printing at all MSS. were really published editions which may have had a wide circle of readers. To judge by his fame as a teacher, as well as by Dom Mathoud's account of his

Realismus bezeichnet haben. Die Zeit war gekommen, wo aus dem Streite der Gegensätze die wahre Anschauung der Sache nach Inhalt und Form zugleich sich herausbilden sollte" (Stöckl, "Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters," bd. i. s. 425).

* See the Preface to his edition of Pullus, which has been reissued in Migne's Patrol. Lat. t. clxxxvi.

extant work, Robert of Melun must have been an important factor in the development of mediæval theology.

The "Books of Sentences" were speedily followed by the "Summa," a title already adopted by Robert of Melun. Here also we find an Englishman first in the field. As Pullen anticipated Peter Lombard, so his countryman, Alexander of Hales, was the forerunner of St. Thomas. Alexander's "Sum of Theology" is sometimes spoken of as a commentary on the "Sentences," and not a few writers have fancied from this that he wrote two distinct works, a "Summa," and a comment on the "Sentences." No doubt the English Franciscan in his turn gave lectures on the text of Peter Lombard, but it does not appear that any of these remain. His one extant book, though keeping to the order of the "Sentences," is by no means a mere commentary. In language and structure it comes much nearer to the "Summa" of St. Thomas than any previous work, and may be said to mark a new epoch in scholasticism. Here again we may refer to a German critic. Father Kleutgen points out that there is an important difference between the master of the "Sentences" and the later schoolmen. And he adds that it was Alexander of Hales who completed the scholastic method, inasmuch as it received its proper form at his hands.**

While Alexander of Hales was doing this service to scholastic theology, another English Franciscan was working with great success in a different field, anticipating the accuracy and critical science of later days. His fame as a magician, and the legends that cluster round his name, have saved Friar Roger Bacon from the oblivion which has fallen on so many of his fellows. Still, his true merits, and his importance in the history of theology, of science, and of criticism, are very far from being generally known. Those who are led to look into the portion of his "Opus Majus," published by Dr. Todd, or still more the "Opera Minora," so ably edited by Professor J. S. Brewer, may well be filled with amazement.† Other writers of his day have an excellence of their own, and only the victims of prejudice can feel surprised at meeting with great thoughts and noble words in their long-forgotten pages. But Roger Bacon has something which is often considered the peculiar boast of modern scholarship. The most thoroughgoing admirer of mediæval philosophy may well be startled on first opening the "Opus Minus," or the "Opus Tertium." In connection with Bacon's scientific research we

* "Die Theologie der Vorzeit," vol. iv. p. 14. A somewhat sarcastic passage in Roger Bacon seems to imply that the "Sum" was not entirely Alexander's work. Considering its magnitude, this may well have been the case.

† Bacon's natural philosophy is the subject of another of Werner's monographs, "Die Kosmologie u. allgemeine Naturlehre des Roger Baco."

may mention another worker in that direction, Alexander Neckam, the English Augustinian.* His Biblical criticism, again, recalls the honoured name of yet another Englishman, Cardinal Stephen Langton.

In the presence of the two great Italian teachers, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, their English contemporaries are more or less in the shade. Yet, when we come to the next generation of theologians; we find an Englishman, Richard Middleton, in the front rank. He has been called by the imposing title of Doctor Solidus; but the frequency with which he is quoted by later writers, such as Suarez, is perhaps a surer token of his worth. Probably not many English readers recognise a countryman in the Richardus of Suarez or Vasquez. Sixtus Senensis, it is true, calls this Richard a Scotchman, possibly from some confusion with his greater namesake, Richard of St. Victor.

It may be well to say in passing that we are confining our attention to Englishmen alone. Scotch, and still more Irish, theologians would furnish ample matter for separate papers. And, as we are anxious to avoid international controversy, we will not include Duns Scotus in our list. Not, indeed, that we abandon all claim to him. There is something to be said for all sides in this triangular duel. With this admission we may perhaps be allowed to treat the nationality of the "Doctor Quodlibetarius" after his own fashion, and leave it an open question.

From Scotus we naturally pass to his most famous English scholar, William of Occam. If this remarkable man had only followed his master in loyalty and good use of his gifts as closely as he approached him in keenness of intellect, his place in theology would have been very different. He might have been the greatest glory of his country and of his Order; but he chose to follow, instead, an erratic course. His revival of Nominalism was fraught with danger to theology, and his speculative errors were unhappily accompanied by an active opposition to the Pope of his day. It is some comfort to learn that he repented before his death. This did not, however, avail to save him from such doubtful honours as Luther's affection and Melancthon's praise. Nevertheless, Occam's writings are not without their value; and later theologians, like Vasquez, who know how to separate the good from the evil, have made good use of the English Nominalist.

While Occam's Nominalism was disturbing the current of mediæval theology, the old scholastic Realism found a fresh champion in another English Franciscan, like Occam himself, a

* His quaint work, "*De Natura Rerum*," has already appeared in the *Rolls* series.

disciple of Duns Scotus. This was Walter Burleigh, who has won what is perhaps the most honourable title given to any schoolman, "Doctor planus et perspicuus." To judge by such of his writings as have come down to us, it was worthily earned.

Another English schoolman, who was a contemporary of Occam and Burleigh, had an influence which lasted long after his own day. John Bacon the Carmelite was adopted as the great authority of his Order. For a time at least the Carmelites were Baconists, just as the Dominicans were Thomists, the Franciscans, Scotists, and the Augustinians formed the Schola Ægidiana.* The distinctive feature of Bacon's teaching is his devotion to Averrhoes. In fact, he endeavoured to do for the famous Arab what others had done for Plato and Aristotle, and make him a Christian philosopher. Thus, as St. Thomas is continually referring to the philosopher, so in Bacon's writings we meet with the "Commentator" at every turn. Although the Carmelite Doctor avoided the more serious errors of his chosen master, and strove to put an orthodox meaning on his words, his Averrhoism was, to say the least, unfortunate, and lessens the value of his writings. Yet the discriminating reader can find much excellent matter in Bacon's theology which helps to fill up what is wanting in some of the other schoolmen. It will be enough to mention here his defence of the doctrine that the Episcopate is an Order, in the Sacramental sense, and his adoption of St. Augustine's teaching on creation in germ. Baconism, as a distinct school, lasted well into the eighteenth century, and for all we know may still linger in some parts.†

The scholastic period was followed by the age of controversy and positive theology. We come from St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure to Bellarmine and his great compeers. The change may, no doubt, be described in many different ways, and may be ascribed to various causes. Still, it will be allowed on all hands that the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation makes a new epoch in the history of theology. And here, once more, an Englishman led the way. Much has been done of late years to explain the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. The struggle has been traced back to its source, and we have learnt to look at Wycliff rather than Luther as the father of Protestant theology. But if the German Reformers were thus forestalled by an English heretic, the work of their opponents was in like manner anticipated by an English champion of the faith, the Carmelite, Thomas Netter of Walden. As we set the

* See the Milan edition of "John Bacon's Theology," published in 1510; also Berti, "De Theologicis Disciplinis."

† See, for instance, Ventimiglia's "Enchiridion Theologicum Scholasticodogmaticum, juxta mentem J. de Baccione," 1764.

two names together we are forcibly reminded of the words of Antony—

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

All of us have heard of Wycliff: but how many are there who know anything of Thomas of Walden? Few have even heard of him; and fewer still have made any acquaintance with his writings. Readers of Suarez sometimes stumble at the name of Waldensis, and take it for an illusion to the heresy of the Waldenses. Yet each one of those frequent references to his name is a fresh token of the good use which later writers have made of the great English Carmelite. Maybe there is little need to read him nowadays. He has served his purpose, and is now overshadowed by the great fabric of controversial and positive theology which has arisen since his day. Still, the work which thus hides him from us is in great measure built upon his own. When Cardinal Bellarmine is beginning his treatise on the Church, he gives a list of the earlier writers on that fundamental question, or rather of such of them as he had read. And the first name after the early Fathers is that of Thomas Waldensis. This fact surely says more for the English theologian than any words of praise, even when they come from such great authorities as Thomassinus and Vega.*

Let us add one other fact that speaks for itself. When the Council of Sens had condemned the Lutheran errors, the zealous Archbishop of that See followed this up by bringing out a fresh edition of Walden's "*Doctrinale Fidei*," as a remedy against the new heresy. This work, which was specially approved of by Pope Martin V., is the only one of Thomas Netter's genuine writings yet given to the press. The smaller volume on Wycliff's errors published in the Rolls series is probably the work of another hand. His biographers give us a long list of works, many of which seem to have perished. In spite of these literary labours, which might seem to leave little room for other work, the active life of Walden is full of interest. He took part in the struggle of the Western Schism, and, according to one account, was present at the great Council which brought it to an end. High in the favour of the Pope and of his own Sovereign, he was sent on an important mission to Lithuania, then recently united to the Polish crown. While engaged in this embassy he strove to spread the faith among the heathens of the North, and seems to have established some houses of his own Order in those parts. From this some writers have been led to call him the Apostle of

* See Thomassinus, "*Consensus Scholæ de Gratia*," and Vega in his work on the Council of Trent.

Lithuania. A fine edition of his chief work was brought out at Venice as late as 1757. If his name is now almost forgotten, it was once held in high esteem by foreigners as well as by Englishmen, and even in the camp of the enemy. Thus André Thevet includes the Carmelite theologian in his "*Histoires des Hommes Illustres*," and honest old Fuller gives him a place among the "Worthies of England." The latter, we need hardly add, has scanty sympathy with Thomas Netter's zeal against heretics.

When we come to the great controversies of the Reformation period, we find many more of our countrymen treading in the footsteps of Thomas of Walden. Some of these are more famous for their deeds than they are for their writings. The names of More and Fisher and Campion would still live in our memories, even if they had left no books behind them. And it is likely that even those among us who hold them most in honour know little or nothing of their literary work. Yet the service they rendered to the cause of theology is second only to the faith and loyalty that won them the martyr's crown. There is, indeed, scarcely any period of our history so rich in sound theological work as is this time of persecution; and its literature is as varied as it is deep and full: each one of its writers has some special merit of his own. Some will prefer the learning of Fisher; others the classic style of Pole, or his lucid exposition of the great dogmatic texts. Others, again, will feel the charm of More's native wit,

Than the bare axe more luminous and keen,

or that tender love of country (*carissima patria Anglia*) which lends a touch of sweetness to the light of Campion's reasoning.*

If, however, we turn from these accidental graces of style or personal character, and look solely at the theological worth of their writings, there is another English writer of this period who must be allowed to bear away the palm. We may, indeed, claim for Thomas Stapleton the first place, not merely among his own countrymen, but among all the Catholic champions of the age. Some will be surprised to find him thus ranked before Bellarmine himself, and will probably set this down to a pardonable pride in the work of an English writer. Let us, then, hasten to add that we are merely repeating the judgment of some of the most competent foreign critics. Cardinal Du Perron, the great French controversialist, gave the first place to Stapleton; and more recently this judgment has been echoed in Germany. Döllinger says expressly that he was the best champion against the new

* While B. Edmund Campion was thus thinking chiefly of his own land, his work "*Decem Rationes*" had none the less a much wider scope. It was soon rendered into many other tongues, French, German, Polish, &c.

teaching the Church has had ; and Father Hurter quotes these words without protest, in his notice of the English theologian.* The main features of Stapleton's work are simplicity and thoroughness. Instead of spending his force on side issues and matters of detail, he goes to the root of the matter ; and, seizing the fundamental principles of the controversy, fights the battle on this ground alone. Among his minor works we may mention the "*Tres Thomæ*," which is, perhaps, more widely known than any other of his writings, and his translation of Bede's "*Ecclesiastical History*." It is interesting to note this link between the early English Father and the greatest of our later theologians.

While Stapleton and his fellows were thus bearing their part in the great struggle with heresy, others of their countrymen were doing good work in the last period of scholastic theology. Among these were Father Compton Carleton, S.J., the author of a full course of scholastic philosophy and theology ; Father Kellison, of Douai, who wrote one of the latest commentaries on St. Thomas ; and Father Henry Holden, whose "*Analysis Fidei Divinæ*," despite some bold speculations, is still a theological classic.

It would be easy to add many more names to the above list of English writers, whether in the scholastic or in the later controversial period. If some are likely to be surprised when they find so many great names in English theology, others more familiar with mediæval literature will probably take us to task for omitting such men as Holkot, and Thomas Bradwardine, whom Chaucer links with St. Augustine, the Dominicans, Thomas of Sutton and John Hayton, and many more.† Our answer is very simple. We are not writing a history of English theology. To do this with anything like completeness we should have to fill not one article but many volumes. The object of the present paper is of a much humbler nature—viz., to draw attention to the fact that Englishmen have done great work in the field of Catholic theology, a fact which is perhaps in some danger of

* "*Nomenclator Literarius*," t. i. p. 125. Hurter, it may be added, makes good use of Stapleton in the earlier portion of his own *Compendium*.

† Bradwardine's great work, "*De Causa Dei*," was published in 1618 by Sir Henry Saville, a man who did not shrink from honouring the schoolmen at a time when their names were a byword of reproach : see his Latin speech before Queen Elizabeth, given in an early edition of Ascham's "*Schoolmaster*." Thomas Sutton, who has been claimed as a Scotchman, wrote "*Comments on Aristotle*," and other works. The "*Compendium of Theology*" found among St. Bonaventura's writings has been ascribed to him by some : see *De Rubeis Dissert. præv.* in tom. 19 opp. St. Thomas. John Hacon (or Hayton) was a vehement opponent of the Paris theologians who set Church or Council above the Pope. He called the Paris University the "*Devil's Daughter*" (*Cf. Hergenröther, "Kirchengesch."* ii. 658).

being forgotten. For this the above selection, imperfect as it needs must be, may well be enough.

It only remains to ask whether these labours of our forefathers have not a lesson for ourselves at the present day. Perhaps it may be said that the work is already done for us, and we have only to rest and be thankful. Is the development of Catholic theology finished? Surely not. It is no Council of the early Church, it is the Vatican Council of our own day that has taken up and made its own the noble words of St. Vincent of Lerins : "Crescat et proficiat tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis quam totius Ecclesiæ Intelligentia, Scientia, Sapientia." This work of unfolding and elucidating and systematising the sacred science is clearly in progress. The book is still open. There is much yet to be done, and what has already been achieved must be set forth in a manner suited to our present needs, and meeting the errors of the age in which we live. In all this it should be our privilege to labour as our fathers have done before us.

There is, indeed, a special reason why we should take our share in the work, and not leave it all to Germans or Frenchmen, or Catholics in other lands. Shall we say it? Theology must be written in our mother tongue. Let us not be misunderstood. By all means let Latin still be used in the text-books of our seminaries and other manuals for the clergy. No amount of theology in the vernacular can ever supersede the common language of the Western Church; and any attempt to do this would endanger the living unity and the growth of the sacred science. But theology is not a mere professional science for the clergy alone; it is open to all. And Christian culture is never complete without it. It is strange that there should be any need of insisting on this obvious truth. Other sciences are not thus "cabined, cribbed, confined" in the narrow ranks of a class or a profession, however eminent. In some cases, indeed, they are more necessary, and they must be more deeply studied by some men than by others; but beyond this circle they exercise a great and ever-growing influence. Many, whose professional duties have little or nothing to do with science of any kind, are led to cultivate some branch of these studies. And specialists in one science have often a wide acquaintance with most of the others. This general extension of the natural sciences is one of the main characteristics of the present day. Yet, at the same time, the divine science of theology is dealt with in a very different way. It is separated from the rest, and left to those who must needs have some knowledge of it. In spite of the sublime nature of its matter, its symmetrical structure, its consistent development, and its rich and varied literature, it is seldom

studied for its own sake. This neglect of theology is surely a serious danger both to science and religion. In saying this, we may shelter ourselves under the authority of Père Didon. There are few more striking passages to be found in those fascinating pages which give us his impressions of Germany, than his protest against this isolation of theology. He shows the wisdom of the Germans, who still maintain the theological faculty in their universities, and the folly of those others who have done away with it. Without this divine science, the circle of knowledge, the *Universitas Scientiarum*, is narrowed; and the loss is widely felt. Both religion and culture suffer by it.*

These words of the eloquent Dominican have a wider application, and go beyond that university system of which he was speaking. The old seats of learning still remain, but who can say that they have the monopoly that once was theirs? Now that the discoveries of science and the words of our great thinkers are scattered broadcast through the land in a hundred different forms that all who will may read them, intellectual culture can no longer be localised as of old. Our ancient universities are still the chief centres of learning, and their light now radiates through a wider area. But in the literature of our country there is a greater university, and it is here that we must raise a chair of theology. The Germans have already done this. Their national literature, like Tübingen and Breslau, has its faculty of Catholic theology. In the pages of Möhler and Kleutgen and Scheeben, and many more, the teaching of the Fathers and schoolmen has been set forth with new life and freshness, and as vigorously defended. They have given their countrymen a rich literature of Catholic divinity in their own mother tongue. If we would do something to follow in the steps of our great English theologians, these Germans show us both what to do and how to do it.

It may be well to remember that when the great schoolmen wrote in Latin, they were using the common language of all literature and science; and the same was true long after the Middle Ages. Thus their use of Latin should warrant us in using English. If theology is to hold its true place in the circle of the sciences instead of being isolated and "shut up in the sacristy," it must surely speak the same tongue as the rest. This is, no doubt, one of the reasons which have led so many of the great German divines to clothe the sacred science in their mother tongue. It is, at any rate, significant that two of them, Kleutgen and

* "L'Etat y perd car tout est profit pour lui à avoir un clergé plus intelligent et en communion plus étroite avec la vie nationale; la religion y perd, car rien ne l'honore plus à la face du monde moderne, après la vertu, que la science vraie; la culture générale y perd, car elle compte un rameau de moins dans l'arbre de la science universelle" (Didon, "Les Allemands," p. 179).

Scheeben, dwell on the connection of Revealed teaching with Philosophy and the other sciences.* For them, as for the schoolmen of old, Philosophy is the handmaiden of Theology, and gains new light and perfection from the services she renders to the queen of sciences. And in like manner all the other branches of knowledge have each their own due place as parts of one great whole, and besides their own native worth can minister, at least indirectly, to the higher science.

If the work so worthily begun is followed up in England and elsewhere, it can hardly fail to bear fruit in many different ways. The highly scientific character of the true religion, to borrow a phrase of Père Didon, may well have its attraction for the men of this age of science, if only it is brought before them in this light. Some, indeed, will turn away from it, and refuse to see its truth and beauty. But it will find out its own. And, at the same time, the presence of Catholic Theology must needs have a healthful influence on the surrounding regions of science and literature. It will leaven the great mass when once it is fairly in the midst of it.

Is it too much to hope for this? Looking, as too many of us do, at the dark side of modern thought, its hopeless Agnosticism, or its Materialism, or Pessimism, we may perhaps say so. Yet when we do this, we are unconsciously falling away from the true philosophy of the Church: we are infected by the pessimism of the day. Nothing is altogether evil; and pure, genuine, undiluted falsehood is nowhere to be found. The "great solvent" does but separate the parts of the system on which it acts: it cannot wholly destroy them. And if we look more deeply into the various false systems of the day we shall find them sown with the scattered elements of the truth

asking to be combined, dim fragments meant
To be united in some wondrous whole.

The true Theology is "Catholic," not only because it is the teaching of the Church of the "whole" world, but because it gives the "whole" of the revealed truth; while false systems keep some stray fragments and reject the rest. And the Philosophy of the Church is "Catholic" in the same sense of the word.

There is, indeed, much in the character of modern philosophy to raise our hopes. The same deep problems which marked the dawning of the scholastic period are still troubling the minds of men. Adopting, *mutatis mutandis*, some well-known words, we may say that, in this at least, "the shadow of the twelfth century is on the nineteenth." We turn from the old Nominalists

* Kleutgen, "Theologie der Vorzeit" vol. v. *circa finem*; Scheeben, "Mysterien des Christenthums."

and Realists to the leaders of modern thought; and we find Schopenhauer saying that the relation of the ideal to the real is the chief point of all philosophy, and Eduard von Hartmann still discussing the great question which busied St. Thomas and the other masters of the mediæval school.* May we not hope that some at least of our modern thinkers will welcome the old solution of those problems, if only it is fairly brought before them? And they can scarcely take in the philosophic truths without being at the same time prepared for the reception of the higher science with which they are so closely linked. The one leads on to the other. If supernatural theology makes use of the preliminary philosophic teaching, it throws in turn new light on the field of natural knowledge, crowning and completing the work of reason. As Scheeben truly says, it supplies the real "transcendental science" for which the proud reason of this age is striving so eagerly.†

Some excellent work has already been done in this direction. Möhler's "Symbolism" was rendered into English many years ago, and it has been followed, though after a long interval, by versions of other German writings.‡ The most important of recent works is the "Manual of Dogmatic Theology," based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik." We may well be thankful for these volumes, though our gratitude will perhaps come under the definition of "a lively sense of favours yet to come." They are a good beginning, likely to lead on to many more, and this is, after all, their main service to Catholic theology. Translations and adaptations from foreign sources have often proved the origin of a rich native literature. And this is what we really want here. We must never be content with one or two books, whatever may be their intrinsic worth. There is need of a whole literature, such as that which the Catholics of Germany already possess, with many and various expositions of the whole body of theology suited to the different characters and inclinations of those who read them, and a host of special works on each one of the more important dogmas.

Such is the task that lies before the English theologians of the present and the future, on whom the mantle of the great schoolmen has fallen. To fulfil it worthily they must surely ask for a double portion of their fathers' spirit.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

* "(Der) Hauptpunkt aller Philosophie, nämlich das Verhältniss des Idealen zum Realen" (letter of Schopenhauer to Rosenkranz, quoted in Kehrbach's edition of the "Kritik der Reinen Vernunft," p. vi.).

† "Natur und Gnade," p. 25.

‡ It is much to be regretted that this great work is so little read amongst us. Perhaps the price of the English version helps to limit its sale. The late American edition is eight times the cost of the German.

ART. VII.—THE INTERNUNCIO AT PARIS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Mémoires inédits de l'internonce à Paris pendant la Révolution, 1790-1801. Avant-propos, Introduction, Notes et Pièces justificatives par l'Abbé BRIDIER. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1890.

WHEN the clergy of the *ancien régime* are spoken of, we picture to ourselves two extreme types. First we have the perfumed and powdered abbé with his rustling silks and laces, dallying at the toilette of the reigning favourite, the life of some gay salon, a welcome guest at the suppers of the *philosophes*—whose presence, faintly suggestive of what was sacred, lent a fresh charm to vice, and from whose lips the *double entendre* and scoffing jest came with a special relish. But we know well that these ecclesiastics, though the most prominent, were by no means the majority of their order. The French Church could boast of men of saintly lives, devoted to their everyday duties, who had no history as long as times were peaceful, but when the hour of trial came proved themselves to be of the same stamp as the martyrs of old. Christophe de Beaumont, the French Athanasius, as he has been deservedly styled, and his successor, De Juigné, who went into debt for 400,000 livres for the benefit of the poor during the terrible winter of 1788-9, were just as real characters as Cardinal de Rohan, the dupe of the necklace scandal; as Loménie de Brienne, the archbishop who hardly believed in God; and as Talleyrand, who gained a benefice from Madame du Barri by an indecent joke. An intermediate class of clerics should not, however, be overlooked. Where the Church is wealthy and powerful she always possesses a number of honourable and lucrative posts, open only to ecclesiastics, and yet involving few ecclesiastical duties. These offices will naturally attract men who have nothing of the ecclesiastical spirit, who look upon the Church merely as a career, and are willing to put up with the restraints imposed by their sacred character in return for dignity and ample emoluments. Such men usually lead decent lives, and even become strenuous supporters of the Church whose officials they are. There must have been many of this class in England before the Reformation. Many there certainly were in France during the eighteenth century, and among them we must reckon Mgr. de Salamon, the Internuncio at Paris during the Revolution.

Louis Sifferin de Salamon was born at Carpentras in Avignon, in the year 1759. As he was fond of relating, he was by birth

a subject of the Popes, and his father held the important office of First Consul under their government. After a course of early studies under the Oratorians at Lyons, he repaired to the renowned university of Avignon to study law, and to pick up as much theology as would qualify him for orders. Pius VI., a friend of the family, appointed him auditor of the Rota at the unusually early age of twenty, and subsequently allowed him to be nominated dean, and to be ordained when only twenty-two. But the tiny papal city did not offer sufficient scope for the ambition of the youthful ecclesiastic. There was at this time a strong current from Avignon towards Paris, and accordingly we are not surprised to learn that he took the first opportunity to purchase a place in the Parliament of the capital. The Calvet museum possesses a portrait representing him as he was in his twenty-fifth year, and clad in his robes of magistrate.* According to the description of it given by his editor, his features were regular, his eyes bright and full of intelligence, his mouth firm and yet mobile, betokening a combination of manly vigour and feminine sensibility. Such, indeed, is what might be gathered from his own account of his person and character. With the charming self-consciousness and effusiveness of the sex to which he half belonged, he assures us of his power of fascinating those whom he met; he is careful to dwell on the details of his toilet and dress, even at times of extreme danger; and one feels that he was more at home in the company of ladies and of his faithful *bonne*, Blanchet, than in his dealings with men. Still, that he was not wanting in masculine qualities will be often seen in the course of his story.

The Abbé de Salamon's career as magistrate was short. The Parliament was one of the first institutions to be swept away by the Assembly; but, in order that justice might be administered pending the creation of the new courts, *chambres de vacances*, consisting of the members of the old parliaments, continued to sit. The position of the members was peculiarly humiliating; they belonged to a body already under sentence of death; their discussions were interrupted, and their decisions set at defiance. Our young abbé was indignant with what he styles the cowardice of his colleagues. The president, M. de Rosambo, often consulted him in moments of peril. When Manuel, the celebrated proctor of the Commune, used to attempt to dictate to the members,

* It is much to be regretted that the publishers have not given us a *facsimile* of this portrait. Their series of memoirs are usually adorned with admirable photogravures. I must here take the opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the Abbé Bridier. His introduction and notes are excellent; their only defect is the writer's modest estimate of his labours. The worthy Internuncio would surely pardon him for giving these Memoirs in such fashion to the world.

Salamon always persuaded his chief to take no notice of his orders. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, invited them to the procession on the feast of the Assumption in order to inflict a public insult on them by assigning them an inferior position. The older members saw no way out of the snare, but Salamon's ingenuity was more than a match for the mayor's astuteness. It was Salamon again who urged the Parliament to refuse to congratulate the Assembly on its labours; and it was he who alone confronted the mob in an attack on the magistrates assembled at dinner. He was, in short, a downright aristocrat, entirely devoted to the old order, and imbued with a thorough contempt for the *canaille*. His conduct at this time was afterwards remembered, and was near costing him his life.

Meantime, though absorbed in secular pursuits, the former auditor of the Rota had not forgotten his patron, Pius VI. His correspondence with Cardinal Zelada kept the Pontiff well informed as to the course of events in France. Consequently it was but natural that when the nuncio, Mgr. Dugnani, fled from Paris at the end of 1790, Salamon should be nominated as the Papal representative.* He at first refused the dangerous honour, but a touching letter, six pages in length, entirely written by Pius himself, overcame all his objections. "I kissed respectfully," he says, "the letter of the great Pontiff, and devoted myself without reserve to his service, determined to die rather than abandon him." These brave words were no empty boast. In March 1791 the Pope condemned the civil constitution of the clergy. At the risk of his head the internuncio translated, printed, and circulated the Papal briefs. Again, in 1792 he did the same for the condemnation of the constitutional clergy. He stayed at his post even after the downfall of the monarchy, and was at length arrested August 27, 1792.

After a short examination at the Hotel de Ville he was consigned to the dépôt of the Mairie, where many clergy of rank were already detained. Salamon recovered his spirits when he found himself in such company. His good old servant brought him his chocolate and peaches and a decanter of lemonade, just as at home. He took care to have his dressing-case fetched, and went through the usual elaborate toilet. A *recherché* dinner also found its way in, which, we are glad to note, was shared with a poor priest who had no friends and no money. The loft in which the prisoners were confined was so low that a tall man could not stand upright in it; the floor was covered

* The diplomatic agents of the Pope are of three classes: nuncios, internuncios, and apostolic delegates. The second class consists of those who hold a temporary (*interim*) appointment, or are accredited to places where there is no supreme ruler.

with filthy straw, and the stench was so overpowering that a fine young man was on the point of being suffocated. Among the imprisoned priests was one veritable hero, of whom we shall hear much. The Abbé Royer, curé of the parish in which the Hotel de Ville was situated, towered over his comrades in stature as well as in character. His gigantic frame was bent, not by the weight of his eighty years, but by reason of the lowness of the roof of their miserable abode. At night he kept his fellow-prisoners in roars of laughter by his amusing stories, so that at last they were compelled to beg him to stop. But the wit was a saint too. Long before the others thought of rising he was on his knees praying for God's mercy on them all.

On Saturday, September 1, a member of the Commune entered, and gave orders for the removal of most of the prisoners to the Abbaye. The venerable Abbé Simon, who had simply called to see his brother, was marched off with the rest. "Now that you're with them," the jailer said, "you may as well stay." * Salamon notes with complacency how well he himself looked in comparison with his fellow-prisoners. A clean shave, well-powdered hair, and fresh linen were no doubt very rare under such circumstances. When he reached the Abbaye he was, however, in such a high fever that he was taken apart and allowed the luxury of sharing the mattress of a black soldier. Next morning early he rejoined his companions in a large hall, which had long been disused. It contained no furniture but a long bench, on which they took turns to sit. Salamon characteristically suggested that they should try to get rid of the dirt. A couple of brooms were accordingly bought from the warder, and thus some approach to cleanliness was obtained. It did not strike anybody that it was Sunday until the good Abbé Royer reminded them. "We cannot say Mass, or hear it," he observed, "but let us go down on our knees for the time that it would last, and let us lift up our hearts to God." The prisoners, sixty-three in number, men of all sorts and conditions, did as he bade them. Then they walked up and down, discussing the situation. Our friend the Internuncio began to think of dinner. He arranged with a restaurateur, introduced by the jailer, to provide for the company at forty sous a head, and generously undertook to pay for all who had no money. At two o'clock a comfortable meal was spread out on tables which had been brought for the purpose. The guests sat down in excellent spirits, and began to eat heartily. Salamon himself sat apart, for Madame Blanchet had tracked him again, and had managed to convey to him some of his favourite dishes, which he describes. Again he shared his

* He was afterwards massacred; the brother escaped.

luxuries with his poor friend of the Mairie. All were enjoying themselves, when suddenly the jailer drew the bolts with a crash, and said: "Be quick! the mob is coming; they're massacring the prisoners."

Half-past two on that Sunday afternoon, September 2, how well the Internuncio remembered it long years afterwards! No more eating and drinking. They listen, they stretch up to the windows to see what is going on outside. Up and down they march, poor victims. "Good God, what will become of us? Must we die?" "Keep quiet, or they will hear us." Salamon goes about advising each one what to say in case of examination. Two young Minims especially excite his compassion: "How sad for you to be here." "Say not so," replies the younger of the two; "my only fear is that they will let me off, because I am only a subdeacon." Fear not, brave youth, you shall have your heart's desire. The roar of the multitude grows louder. Once more the jailer enters. "They've killed all the people in the outer courts."

Five o'clock! Get ye ready for death. The Abbé Royer will not give a general absolution. No, he says, they have time to do all that the Church requires. Little groups are formed round each of the priests. Salamon is not one of the confessors. He is sitting, his face covered with his hands—he begins to doze! But now he remembers that he ought to go to confession like the rest. He is just beginning his accusation when the terrible jailer comes in again. "It is getting worse," he says, "more than two thousand of the mob have broken into the Abbaye. All the priests at the Carmes have been massacred." All now fall on their knees round the venerable father confessor. The sun has set. It is getting dark. The tall figure is dimly seen as the man of God calls upon all to recite the *Confiteor*, and the acts of faith, hope and charity. With great devotion, he gives them absolution *in articulo mortis*. Then, turning to the Internuncio, he says: "I myself am a great sinner: it was not for me to absolve you, the minister of the Vicar of Christ. Give me, I pray you, absolution with as much simplicity as I gave it to you." Poor Salamon is not accustomed to hearing confessions: he cannot remember the words! But now the saintly curé speaks again: "We can consider ourselves as being in our agony, but inasmuch as we still have our reason and full consciousness, we must not neglect anything that can obtain for us the mercy of God." He begins the litanies: they answer most fervently. When he comes to the recommendation of the dying, "Go forth, Christian souls," loud sobs break from all. Salamon still has a presentiment that he will escape. A young hairdresser thinks so, too, for he

entrusts him with a most touching letter to one who will soon be his widow. The hours pass wearily.

Ten o'clock comes, and the jailer brings in wine and lights—and hope, too, for he says that the mayor is at hand with the national guard to protect them. Our friend does not believe it, whereat the Abbé Godard and he have words. The roar outside grows louder and nearer. "Keep perfectly quiet," says Salamon; "this is not a regular prison. The mob may not know that we are here." They huddle together in silence, but not for long. Knock! knock! knock! Ah! what is that? Where is the Abbé Godard? He has climbed through a window without telling his companions. Some follow, and find themselves in a little courtyard. The doors are dashed in: "Where are they?—they have escaped." "No, here they are." And now the victims and mob are face to face. A loud voice calls: "Abbé Godard!" No one stirs. "You had better go," says Salamon coolly, "or else they will kill us all. Your great height may impress them." The Abbé steps forth. He is seized by a huge fellow, who keeps yelling out: "Villain, brigand," and is carried off—to death? No. This violence is make-believe; the Abbé is saved by a strange friend.* It is now the Internuncio's turn. He boldly faces the mob: "Here I am; I am not guilty." Pikes and swords are levelled at him, but are pushed aside by one who says, "Follow me, and if you are not guilty, no one shall hurt you." The mob opens a way for them, and they go, by the light of flickering torches and the rays of the bright moon, through the courtyard and garden into one of the halls of the abbey.

Yes, the aristocrats shall have a fair trial. The patriot judges sit at a green table, but more bent on quarrelling than on judging. The captives are dragged in. Salamon takes care to choose a good place farthest from the door. He is no coward though; he denies that they tried to escape—they only wanted not to be massacred. But the president intervenes: "Bring up the first prisoner." He is nearest the door. It is the saintly Abbé Royer. "Hast thou taken the oath?" "No." Down comes a sabre on his head; another and another; he falls and is dragged out. "Vive la Nation!" Next comes the Abbé Bouzet, vicar-general of Rheims. He has not taken the oath. "Out with him." He is pushed into the garden, and blows are showered on him till he dies. "Vive la Nation" again. It is a layman's turn now; he loses his wits, and accuses himself of having har-

* Manuel, the Procurator of the Commune, had a mistress, who was devoted to the King's service. She knew the Abbé Godard, and it was her intercession that saved him.

boured priests. "Death, death!" is the cry. He is soon gone. One after the other they are butchered: secretaries, presidents, vicars-general, simple priests. The Internuncio's turn will come presently. A mortal terror seizes him; his head is all burning with fever; he tears his hair, and alas! it begins to come off. He repeats his prayers mechanically, but he cannot prepare for death. He looks up now. The Minims are being questioned. A judge, touched with compassion, breaks in: "These are not priests: they need not take any oath." "But they are fanatics," others say. Moderate murderer and extreme murderer struggle for the mastery. The subdeacon favours the latter. Extreme wins, and two more martyrs have gained their crown. The old Abbé Simon, who only came to see his brother and was made to stay, is next massacred.

It must now be past three in the morning. When will they stop? Will none escape? Here comes a deputation from the Marseillais, who marched to Paris for the overthrow of the monarchy. They are received with the honours due to such distinguished patriots. Wonderful to relate, they ask pardon for two prisoners in another part of the Abbaye. Again moderate and extreme are at variance. Salamon thinks that when murderers fall out there is some chance for their captives. He notes that the Marseillais are getting the best of it. Once more he takes a bold line. "What, Mr. President, is there a man here who would dare oppose the request of the brave Marseillais? I propose that the two prisoners be brought in and set free." "Bravo! bravo!" The motion is carried. They are saved, but the blood goes on flowing. The Abbé Simon's brother is now questioned. He produces the oath of Liberty and Equality: he has taken that. "But this won't do—it isn't the priest's oath." "It will do all the same." Again a struggle, but the abbé is released—the first of Salamon's companions. A new president takes the chair. "Let us finish them off," he says. Two soldiers of the constitutional guard are massacred without being asked any questions. But now a servant of the Duc de Penthièvre is examined. He answers word for word as he had been advised—and he escapes. Two saved! It must now be quite seven o'clock in the morning, but the shutters are still closed, and the hall is dimly lighted by the flickering, unsnuffed candles. The judges and executioners are tired out. No one seems to notice that there is yet one prisoner untried. The poor fellow, taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, is quietly stealing away, when a vile-looking hunchback calls out, "Here's another one." It is Mgr. de Salamon, the Papal Internuncio! He goes straight up to the president: "Citizen, I ask permission to speak." "Who are you?" "I belonged to the Parlia-

ment of Paris, and I am a lawyer." "What brings you here?" "My section ordered us all to be indoors by ten o'clock. Not knowing this, I was going home at eleven and was arrested. I was taken from committee to committee, from the Mairie here to the Abbaye, without having once being examined. Pétion was going to release me just as these trials began." The president looks round: "You see how badly they manage matters in the other sections. We should have examined the prisoner at once, and have set him free. I propose that he be put back, so that inquiry may be made about him." Salamon does not wait for the decision; he goes off quietly under escort. For the present, then, he is safe. How does he feel? What are his thoughts?

"I sat down," he says, "and tried to get some rest. I thought that I should faint; I was worn out with fatigue. I was in a high state of fever; my pulse was beating fast; my hands were on fire. I did not feel glad at my escape; on the contrary, a deep sadness came over me, and I felt exceedingly prostrate. Since Saturday, at two o'clock, I had taken no solid food, and for more than twelve hours I had been face to face with death. As a rule, I had not the gift of tears, but now my miserable situation made me weep bitterly."

Monday and Tuesday passed away, and still there seemed no prospect of release. Meanwhile, however, the good old Blanchet was not idle. She had taken her master's letters to Hérault, the president of the Convention, and he had interceded for the prisoner. Early on Wednesday morning she met Torné, a constitutional bishop, who had been under great obligation to Salamon for gaining him a case at Rome before the Revolution. She seized him by the collar and said, "You must come and save your old friend this instant." To avoid a scene he at once agreed. On their way they encountered a deputy well known to Torné; Blanchet insisted that he too should go with them. All three proceeded to the Abbaye and were admitted. After a little parleying, the captive was set at liberty, the two patriots signing a declaration that they took upon themselves all responsibility for what was done. The bishop took him home and concealed him carefully until the massacres were over.

Here ends the first book of Salamon's Memoirs. Well might he say to Madame de Villeneuve, at whose request he wrote them: *Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem*. The filthy hall, the improvised dinner, the ill-timed gaiety of the guests, the sudden interruption, the prayers for the dying, the absolution, the long suspense, the breaking open of the doors, the rush of the mob, the mock trials, the massacres—how plainly they all stand out! What a vivid picture they give us of the bloody days of September! What an insight into the depths and heights of

human character ! We are not surprised that Madame de Ville-neuve asked the Internuncio to go on with the story of his adventures.

Faithful to the trust imposed on him by Pius VI. he continued at his post, secretly communicating with Rome and carrying out the Holy Father's instructions. His life was tranquil ; he took his turn at mounting guard and passed everywhere for a good citizen. Unhappily, his connection with the reactionary part played by Parliament in 1789 and 1790 now came under notice. Before being dissolved, that body had drawn up a protest, signed by all the members, to be presented to the king and carefully kept secret. M. de Rosambo, the president, was imprudent enough to place it in his desk in the presence of his valet who had been for forty years in the service of his family. This man became a fiery revolutionist, and consequently denounced his master to the leaders of his section. The Hôtel de Rosambo was searched, the paper was discovered and with it the names of all who had sided with the king against the popular party. Orders were at once given for their arrest. Salamon was dining with a lady when suddenly Blanchet came to inform him that a friend had called secretly to advise him to keep away for some days. What was he to do ? His hostess was a "*dame poltronne*," he could not stay in her house. But he bethought himself of a rich widow, with an excellent heart, and greatly attached to him. It happened to be her night for receiving. Some of the guests were still in her salon. When he entered, Madame Dellebart—this was the widow's name*—saw that something was wrong, yet with her woman's tact she carefully controlled her feelings and conversed in the usual way until the company was gone. As soon as they were alone Salamon told her all. With tears in her eyes she begged him to stay with her ; she would not let him speak of the risk which she ran. Next day he went round among his old colleagues to warn them of the measures for their arrest. It was past six o'clock when he returned to his brave hostess. She was again in tears, wondering what had become of him. The evening was spent in a long *tête-à-tête* ; it was nearly two when she showed him to the tastefully furnished room which she herself had prepared for him. In the morning some excellent coffee and cream on a silver service were brought up to him. The widow did not get up till late, but she sent her daughter, who was a nun, to entertain him. Blanchet came too at about ten, to say that the commissaries of the section had visited his house to arrest him. It is needless to say that the good creature put

* The reader should bear in mind that these Memoirs were written for a lady. Hence Salamon describes at length the motherly care of Madame Dellebart for him, instead of giving an account of his ecclesiastical functions.

them on a very false track. Several days passed in the same way: breakfast with Mdle. Dellebart, a walk in the city, Blanchet's visit, and then a long evening with Madame. The younger lady usually retired at about nine, leaving the two talking together over the exciting times in which they lived and the many famous people whom they had met.

This sort of life could not last long. Baulked of their prey, the commissaries seized poor old Blanchet and dragged her off to prison. They asked her where her master was. "I know very well," she replied, "but I won't tell you. He'll live to get the lot of you hanged." Her only surviving son, fourteen years old, died a few days afterwards, calling out for his mother and his master. These sad tidings threw a fresh gloom over the little party. Just then, however, two letters came from Rome, one containing a cheque for 300 Roman crowns, the other full of consoling messages from the Pope. It is interesting to note that the correspondence was kept up by means of pseudonyms and pretended sympathy with the revolution. Salamon was "Citizen Blanchet," while the Cardinal was "Guissepe Evangelisti." The letters were interlarded with the usual Republican phrases, "scélerats d'Autrichiens," "nos braves patriotes," &c. Pius himself used to call his envoy his "little Jacobin."

After a month's stay at his new abode, Mdle. Dellebart one day confided to him that he was being watched, and that strangers had called to make inquiries about him. In spite of his hostess's entreaties he made up his mind to seek some other refuge. While wandering about Paris he came across a face that seemed familiar, and went up and claimed acquaintance. "Are you not the Abbé Audin?" "Don't call me that," was the reply. "I am professor of medicine." The man, indeed, was an apostate, who was on the point of being married to the daughter of another medical man. He had a good heart for all that, and readily gave Salamon food and shelter, even at the risk of being guillotined. The fugitive, however, could not rest here. He returned to Madame Dellebart to tell her that he must henceforth be a wanderer on the earth without a resting-place for his head. The worthy widow was overcome with grief. "Why not stay here," she said. . . . "We have got used to each other. . . . No harm will come to you. I assure you that since you have left I have felt a great void in my house." He remained that evening, but at daybreak went out to make inquiries about his faithful servant. Having found means of communicating with her, he set out for the Bois de Boulogne, which he intended thenceforth to make his headquarters. Sometimes he slept in the open; sometimes he found shelter in sheds, archways and booths. Often he had nothing to eat but potatoes. He soon discovered other

ecclesiastics who had been compelled to lead a similar life. Little gatherings were held in which men dressed like labourers, but not so well fed or lodged, and yet withal men of noble birth and high ecclesiastical position—discussed the affairs of the Church in unhappy France. The Internuncio, now Vicar Apostolic, was able to communicate the latest intelligence from Rome, and to give all the dispensations required. This miserable state of existence lasted three months. There was, however, an occasional return to civilised life. Every Wednesday he spent the day with Madame Dellebart. He used to arrive early, take a good rest, breakfast with the daughter, and then a long talk with his devoted friend. But the decree against the nobles (April 16, 1794) deprived him of this consolation. With great difficulty he secured a wretched garret at Passy. The master of the house was always out, engaged at the Commune or in debauchery. He asked no questions about the lodgers provided they paid an exorbitant rent. In fact, the sum demanded was a sort of premium of insurance which the ruffian would lose if any harm befell them. The wife and daughter became interested in Salamon, and saved him from many awkward inquiries. One day he was in a café drinking beer when suddenly a citizen burst in shouting with joy: "To-day it is the turn of the Parliament. They are all in the dock, except that villain Salamon!" It was but too true. That very day they were tried and guillotined—the Internuncio himself being condemned to a like fate for not answering when called on!

Robespierre's death (July 28, 1794) brought a gleam of hope to all who were proscribed. Salamon had not forgotten his good Blanchet during his wanderings. He now wrote to the Committee of General Security to ask for her release. The letter was couched in most pathetic terms, describing her sufferings, and especially referring to the cruel treatment inflicted upon her son. Collet, the president, took charge of the letter, and was soon able to return a favourable answer. The long-separated master and servant met at last in the Bois. They dared not show their emotion for fear of exciting the attention of the bystanders. Blanchet's first care was to hand over three hundred francs which she had earned in prison by working. The ladies retained their love of finery even there, and, as she was an excellent laundress, her services were often in requisition. It should be mentioned, too, that she nursed the venerable Mme. de la Rochefoucauld, who had been deserted by her maid.

Some time afterwards he determined to get the seals taken off his apartments. Bourdon de l'Oise, formerly proctor of the Parliament, but now all-powerful in the section where they were situated, had been under great obligation to Salamon. The two

met, and a characteristic dialogue took place in which the parts of good-hearted blackguard and subtle schemer were well sustained. A decree was issued in Salamon's favour. The seals were removed and he was at liberty to come and go for a time. The second act of his adventures was over.

Two characters have doubtless aroused the admiration and interest of the reader : the faithful servant and the devoted widow. Mgr. de Salamon long survived them both, and had the melancholy gratification of attending them at death. Madame Dellebart fell ill in 1795, soon after the events just described. She had never been religious, and the thought of the future terrified her. Her friend now rendered her a worthy return for all that she had done for him. He spoke of the consolation which he had received from religion in the midst of his own sufferings and dangers; he dwelt much upon the goodness of God; he skilfully alluded to her many good natural qualities, and gradually led up to the subject of confession. "Only say the word," he added, "and I will get you a confessor."

She remained silent for a moment, and then, putting out her hand to me—a hand emaciated indeed, but still beautiful, for Madame Dellebart had been a great beauty—"Thank you, my friend. . . . God has preserved you to do me this service. . . . Do not go for any one. . . . A good man like you must be a compassionate confessor. . . . And I sadly need an indulgent one." "Very well," I replied, "go to sleep now, for it is one o'clock in the morning. . . . To-morrow I will come to you." I did not say a word about this to Mdlle. Dellebart, for she would have plagued her mother about making a good preparation. . . . Next morning Mme. Dellebart sent, as usual, my little *déjeuner* to my room, with a message to go to her at ten. As I entered she said: "I have had a good night, thanks to you. . . . Now do your work." After hearing her confession, I went out to the parish of Bonne-Nouvelle and brought her Holy Communion. . . . Next day I came back and found her very weak. . . . When I asked her whether I should recite the prayers, adding that it was better to do so too soon than too late, she murmured, "Yes, I should be very glad." . . . As I ended them she asked if I would accept a souvenir of her affection. "Willingly," I answered; "and I will treasure it all my life." Then she gave me a ring set with diamonds. . . . "I used to be fond," she added, "of reading the works of Voltaire and Rousseau. Do you want them?" "Yes," I replied; "indeed it is a sacrifice which you should make because those two philosophers have done much harm to religion." . . . At length she died piously after shedding many tears. . . . I said the prayers and performed the funeral service in the house. I followed her remains to the cemetery. I have never ceased to mourn this excellent and charitable friend.

A month after the massacres Mme. Blanchet had received a letter from Rome containing a present of 3000 francs from the Pope as a reward for her faithfulness to his envoy. She lived through the Revolution, and had the happiness of seeing the Catholic religion and worship restored. At length, in 1805, a cruel malady forced her to take to her bed. Salamon nursed her with the greatest tenderness, watching up three nights a week, and performing for her all the services required by the sick.* She showed no fear of death. Her only anxiety was the sorrow which her master would feel at her departure. One little scene, just in her dying moments, must be given in his own words :

She kept her eyes fixed on me without saying a word, and yet I could see that she wanted to speak. Then I said to her, "What do you want, dear Blanchet? I will do anything that you wish." "I want to embrace you," she whispered. "Very well, my dear, embrace me. Why did you not tell me at once?" Seeing her in her agony, I recited the recommendation of the soul. She expired in the morning, calmly, just as though she were going to sleep. I gave her a suitable funeral. A solemn requiem was sung, and then, with her friends whom I had invited, I accompanied her to her last resting-place.

But we have been anticipating. There is yet a third part of the Memoirs, giving an account of the trial of the Internuncio under the Directory. It is not of the same interest as the other two, and, besides, many of the statements contained in it are, to say the least, not borne out by other evidence. According to Salamon, measures were being taken for a concordat between the Holy See and the Directory, much on the same lines as that afterwards concluded by Bonaparte. Pius VI. was on the point of accepting it, but negotiations were broken off because the Directors imposed a fresh oath on the clergy. Meantime the Republican army was making rapid progress through Italy. The Pope strove to induce the King of Naples to resist. A secret alliance was entered into whereby the king undertook to send troops for the defence of Rome. But the marvellous success of the youthful French general struck him with fear; he made peace with the Republic, and abandoned the Pope to his fate. Salamon accidentally found out what had taken place. He hastened to convey the news to Rome, so that Pius might come to terms in good time. Unfortunately the courier was stopped, his despatches were seized, and the Internuncio was once more thrown into prison. It was not until the eleventh day of his detention that he was brought up for the preliminary examination. His enemies hoped that the post would bring some letters which would still further

* "*Même les plus bas.*"

incriminate him, but happily their designs were thwarted by the merest chance. Nothing was intercepted but one letter which was so worded that it told much in his favour. He was, however, transferred to a regular prison, where after a time he received somewhat better treatment, thanks to one of the visiting officials, who was an old acquaintance. A fellow-prisoner, too, who had amassed a goodly sum of money in the service of an English lord, supplied him with an excellent dinner every day, and with rare delicacy refused to share it with him, but insisted on waiting on him. Another examination took place, resulting in his being removed to the Conciergerie, where so many illustrious victims had been confined. His new jailer, Richard, was a kind-hearted man, who had himself been imprisoned for his generous treatment of Marie Antoinette, and whose first wife had been cut down by a criminal whom she was trying to console. Salamon was allowed to see his friends every evening. Sometimes the jailer and prisoner dined together, particular care being taken to provide the dishes which the latter had a fancy for. When the cell was opened in the mornings a little pug dog used to run in and jump upon the bed. It had belonged to the unhappy queen, and had been accustomed to do this when she had dwelt there.

Five more weeks passed before the Internuncio was put on trial. A tremendous indictment was read against him. The Commissary of the Directory objected that, lengthy though it was, it did not indicate the gist of the accusation. A fierce wrangle ensued, resulting in the indictment being quashed, and the prisoner remanded for a month. This time the weariness of his life was beguiled by the frequent visits of the jailer's granddaughter, whom he calls "an angel of sweetness." Another five weeks passed away before the second trial began. The result was the same; another wrangle, and another remand for a month. It should be mentioned that the list of the jury selected was sent to each of the accused a day or two before trial, in order that he might choose whether he would be tried by them or not. Salamon had made no objection on the first two occasions; but when the third list came, his good friend M. Richard pointed out that they were a villanous set, who would surely condemn him. What was to be done? The jailer was intimate with Marchand, the official who had charge of the lists. Salamon suggested that he should be invited to a good dinner, with plenty of excellent wine, and that a hint should be given that he would be well paid. The banquet duly took place. Not a word was said about business until the dessert. Filling out a bumper of Malaga for the guest, Richard took up the jury list, and began to object to this one and that one. Marchand was not long in seizing the point. "Draw up a list of your own," he

said, "and I will take care that they alone are called." Twelve names likely to be favourable to the prisoner were accordingly selected, and all except one actually took part in the trial!

At length on March 3, 1797, the third and last examination took place. M. de Salamon was up and dressed with his usual care some time before the hour fixed for his appearance. A lady called to see him to explain why she could not be present at his trial; she had a civil case of her own going on, which she felt sure of losing. The Internuncio asked whether she would have the courage to plead her cause if he composed a speech for her. Certainly, she replied. Thereupon he made her acquaint him with the facts, and wrote out a defence eight quarto pages in length, with a most touching peroration. In truth he relied, as he says, on the effect of an appeal by a young and beautiful woman in behalf of her children of tender age. His fair client marvelled at his working so eagerly for her at the moment when his own life was at stake. "It was only gratitude for her kindness," he said; but he turned away for fear of being too much affected ("*je craignais de me laisser attendrir*"). Her case came on at once. She obtained permission to speak. Her tears, her voice, and the charm of her manner heightened the effect of Salamon's composition. The judges were moved; the day was won.

But now his own turn came. This time the indictment was short and much milder than before. He was no longer accused of being the leader of a conspiracy; the sole charge against him was that he had corresponded with the Pope's minister. An attempt to further postpone the case was overruled. The commissary then endeavoured to have the case referred to a military tribunal on the ground that the accused was a spy. Salamon replied with a burst of eloquence. A spy?—he was no more a spy than any other accredited envoy of a foreign power. Were such men put in prison and tried by court-martial? His advocate ably argued the legal points of the contention. Finally it was decided, amidst the applause of those present, to go on with the case. No witnesses were called by the prosecution; but one of the prisoner's letters seized on his courier was put in as evidence against him. He protested against the admission of such a document; he reminded the judge that it had long been recognised in the courts that no man could be his own accuser. A tedious discussion followed, ending in a proposal to refer the case to the consideration of the Corps Legislatif. This course would have meant a further weary delay. Accordingly, the prisoner elected to stand or fall on the merits of the contents of the letter. It would take too much of our space to give the dialogue which, as usual in French procedure, took place between the presiding judge and the accused. Salamon

acknowledged that he had corresponded with the Pope; but indignantly denied that the Holy Father was an enemy of France. As a matter of fact, his letter warned the Pope against the King of Naples, and distinctly counselled him to come to terms with the Republic. It was true that he had taken no oath of fidelity to the laws, but he had not broken any of them; if he had done so let them bring a specific charge against him. These various replies to the judge's questions were received with loud applause. But the poor prisoner was worn out with hunger and excitement. He had had nothing but a cup of chocolate since morning, and the trial lasted till eleven at night. Seeing that he was fainting, the president adjourned the trial till the following morning. Richard had a good dinner waiting for him, and assured him that every one was talking of his acquittal; such an able defence had never been heard in the courts. Next morning at nine the trial was resumed. Again the accused defended himself with skill and coolness. At length the jury retired. Many of them had been impressed with the word "spy," which had been used by the commissary. Happily, one of their number, a married deacon, who knew Italian well, explained to his colleagues that the correspondence clearly showed that the prisoner was an intimate friend of the Pope's, and therefore could not be in the position of a spy. After deliberating for two hours, the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty," which was received with enthusiastic applause.

This was the last of the Internuncio's appearances before a tribunal. His Memoirs end here, but with the help of the Abbé Bridier and some scattered remarks of his own we are able to trace his subsequent career. He continued to exercise his functions of Vicar-Apostolic rather than of Internuncio until 1801. On the arrival of Mgr. Caprara as legate *a latere*, he was appointed administrator-general of the dioceses of Normandy. Doubtless he would gladly have accepted one of the appointments under the Concordat; but his name, if mentioned, was passed over. In 1804, however, he was consecrated Bishop of Orthozia *in partibus infidelium*. For the next sixteen years his career was not dignified. It would seem that he felt keenly that his great services to the Church had been overlooked, and that others who had not stood by her in her days of sorrow had been preferred before him. It was not until 1820 that we find him nominated to the diocese of Saint-Flour, in Auvergne. Although now sixty-two years of age, he set vigorously to work. To this day, says the Abbé Bridier, it is impossible to take a step in the little cathedral city without lighting upon some memorial of his eventful episcopate. One alone can be mentioned here. After the Revolution the numbers and the education of the clergy showed

a lamentable decline. The new bishop, brought up in the old days of culture and refinement, was surprised at the ignorance of his priests. At once he took steps to remedy this abuse. A Petit Séminaire was founded and endowed; the course of studies was enlarged, mathematics and physics being included; special stress was laid on literature, in which the bishop himself was the examiner. Some time afterwards a Grand Séminaire followed. Here again he insisted on other studies over and above those which were merely professional. "It is in vain," he wrote, "that a priest is well instructed in theology and ecclesiastical lore. The people do not admire him for knowing subjects of which they know nothing. They should look upon him as belonging to the cultured class." Both these works were blessed by God. In his last pastoral (Lent, 1828) he reviewed the progress of the diocese, dwelling especially upon the hundred and fifty students of his Grand Séminaire, "the joy and crown of his episcopate." He went to his reward June 11, 1829. His funeral was that of a pauper, his body was laid in the common grave—such was his express wish. Most of his wealth was bequeathed to his seminaries; the rest to the poor to provide for them after his death, as he had done in life, food, clothing, and fuel.

The fire of persecution and the frost of neglect had purified his soul. We have seen him in his early days, thinking only of worldly preferment; we have been with him during his agony in the Abbaye; we have tracked him in his wanderings in the woods; we have admired his courage and eloquence in the law courts; we have had a glimpse of him in his life of retirement; but we like best to gaze upon the closing scenes—to look at him with his young seminarists around him, or distributing to the poor those necessities of life, the lack of which none knew so well as he. Such a career may best be summed up in the words of the prophet of old *:—His early life had been neither day nor night; then had come a time when there was no light, but cold and frost; but in the evening time there was light.

T. B. SCANNELL.

* Zach. xiv.

ART. VIII.—INDEPENDENT NATIONAL CHURCHES.

The Throne of the Fisherman. By T. W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G.
London: Burns & Oates.

WE have seen that until the Nicene Council, and in the history of that Council, there is no trace of the Anglican theory of independent Churches. We propose to continue our inquiries, and to show that the next fifty years witnessed something akin to the Anglican position, but in connection with heresy, and that it was repudiated by orthodox Christianity.

The Fathers of the Council separated, and the Church enjoyed a moment's triumph. But a new era begins—the era of Episcopal, and particularly of Eastern, rebellion against the Nicene faith. With this fresh trouble, the time also came for the authority of the head to develop the resources at its disposal. On all this part of the Church's history, Mr. Allies is particularly powerful, and although we shall traverse the same ground, and occasionally make use of his statements, his volume needs to be read as a whole to understand why Cardinal Newman thought so highly of it.

As, then, the Church emerged upon its new course of alliance with the State, the Eastern Bishops more and more discovered a fatal weakness incident to their proximity to the new centre of secular power on the shores of the Bosphorus. Meanwhile, the guidance and government, and inherent strength and majesty, of the Holy See became more and more pronounced. Circumstances drew them forth. "We must ever keep in view [says Cardinal Hergenröther, quoting Walter on Canon Law], that the Primacy was never, like a ready-made system, traced out for the constitution of the ancient Church, but was deposited in it like a fructifying germ, which developed with the life of the Church. Hence we ought not to represent the circumstances of the case as if the Roman See had clearly foreseen all for which it was destined, and only, as it were, watched the opportunity of bringing it to a consummation. Its task was rather prescribed to it by the circumstances and by the demands of the Church; and hence with the growth of the Church, the Primacy came out with more distinct outlines."* At the same time, it is not the principle itself which is held to be in a state of germination, as Canon Bright, in his preface to his recent work on the "Lives of Three Great Fathers" imagines; but the manifestation of the

* Anti-Janus, ch. vii.

principle, which becomes clearer, its full issues appearing in the historical evolution of the Church's life. The principle was always there. But it is surely evident that the full meaning of the Nicene Canons *could* only gradually make itself felt; and the same is true of the guardian of those Canons—viz., the Apostolic See. The principle of its action, or rather, the main occasion of its action, during the eventful years immediately succeeding the Council of Nicæa, is given by St. Gregory the Great in words which amount to an inspiration in the way of orientating ecclesiastical history. He says of the Bishop of Constantinople: "As to what he says, that he is subject to the Apostolic See, I know not what Bishop is not subject to it, if any fault be found in Bishops. But when no fault requires it, all are equal, according to the estimation of humility." * When "fault is found with Bishops," then the Primacy develops its hidden stores of wisdom and authority to correct the fault. This is precisely what happened in the post-Nicene period. Until then Bishops had not learnt, as Mr. Allies points out, to struggle one with one another for place and power, and the need of a head was not so keenly felt. But when ambition came to curse the East, then came out to view the moderating power of the Sovereign Pontiff. This is the salient feature of the next fifty years after Nicæa. The Court Bishop in the East was the new factor in the Church's life, and the source of inexpressible trouble. Court and Bishop together did their best to ruin the Church. They must have succeeded but for the unbending firmness of the Holy See. For a Council could not guard its own Canons. The See of Rome had so far guarded the traditions of the Apostles, and the position immediately occupied by that See, when the Fathers of Nicæa had dispersed to their various homes, was precisely that of guardian of the Nicene faith against refractory Bishops. The government of the Church was, in fact, not merely Episcopal but Apostolical; Episcopacy was unequal to the strain that ensued, but the holy Apostolic See gave strength to the Episcopal brotherhood.

St. Sylvester was succeeded, after the short reign of St. Mark, by St. Julius; and a letter of St. Julius contains the most ample evidence of the Church's tradition as to her normal government in case of an accusation against a Bishop. This letter contains the reply of St. Julius to certain Bishops who were engaged in destroying the Church's faith concerning her Divine Head, and, as we shall presently see, in violating the discipline of the Church. They had condemned the great Bishop of Alexandria, St. Athanasius. But "why," says St. Julius, "was nothing said to us

* Epp. lib. ix. ep. 59.

about the Church of Alexandria in particular? Are you ignorant that this is customary, for word to be written first to us, and then for a just sentence to be passed from this place? If, then, any suspicion rested upon the Bishop there, notice thereof ought to have been sent to the Church of this place [*i.e.*, Rome]; whereas, after neglecting to inform us, and proceeding on their own authority as they pleased, now they desire to obtain our concurrence in their decisions. . . . Not so have the directions of the Fathers prescribed. This is another form of procedure, a novel practice. . . . What we received from the blessed Apostle Peter, that I signify to you."

It was, then, according to St. Julius, a novel practice in the middle of the fourth century for a Council of Bishops to proceed to censure the second Petrine See, that of Alexandria, on their own authority, *instead of obtaining a just sentence from Rome*. And the authority thus to decide was derived to Rome from "that which we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter."

Mr. Gore, speaking of Sozomen's account of what St. Julius did on behalf of St. Athanasius and the other orthodox Bishops who had been deposed—viz., "since, because of the dignity of his See, the care of all belonged to him, he restored each to his own Church"—says that "it represents Julius's view of his authority."* And he quotes from the letter which St. Julius received from the Eusebian Bishops in the East to show there was another side to the matter. Even so, we may remark in passing, it leaves to St. Leo (whom Mr. Gore, in common with Dr. Littledale, considers in some sense the father of the modern view of the Papacy) little to originate in the way of authoritative *claim*. And this was under the very shadow of the Nicene Council.

But is it true that this account of Sozomen's represents only "Julius's view of his authority," and not the view of the orthodox Bishops of the Church at that time? Socrates tells us, indeed, that the Bishops opposed to Athanasius protested against St. Julius's action, saying that "it was not his province to interfere." And Mr. Gore appears to think that this, their protest, ought to be mentioned as a counterbalancing fact in weighing the consent of the Church to Julius's view.

And we know from St. Hilary that the Eusebians definitely adopted the programme that things settled by a Council in the East should be simply accepted by the West, and *vice versa*. The position is certainly a near approach to the Anglican theory, only there was no idea of any province settling anything for itself, and by itself, *without any communication* with the rest, not even if the whole East were to be called one province. Still,

* "R. C. Claims," p. 101.

something like the Anglican programme has at last emerged in germ within the first three centuries, and it therefore behoves us to consider it most carefully.

It was the utterance of a Synod. And there seems a tendency amongst some Anglican controversialists to attribute quite an extravagant weight to anything said by a Synod of Bishops. This tendency is not unnatural in people who look upon the possession of the Apostolical succession—the mere mechanical succession—as everything that is needed. And, especially, do they attribute a preposterous value to an Eastern Synod, as, indeed, this Synod made a preposterous claim on behalf of a previous Council. It claimed for the Council of Tyre the rank of an assembly whose judgment was irreformable. Yet it was a Council of heretics, presided over by the Arian Emperor, and determined to oust St. Athanasius from the See of Alexandria. Such was the patronage under which this principle entered the Church. And on what ground did St. Julius refuse to the Council of Tyre the position claimed for it? On the same ground as he condemned the subsequent larger Council at Antioch. Socrates writes of that—"Julius, Bishop of old Rome, was not there, nor did he indeed send a representative, although the Ecclesiastical Canon expressly commands that the Churches shall not make ordinance contrary to the judgment of the Bishop of Rome" (ii. 8).

And Sozomen (iii. 10) : "Julius wrote that they had acted against the Canons, because they had not called him to the Council, the Ecclesiastical Canon commanding that the Churches ought not to make Canons beside the will of the Bishop of the Romans."

They had chosen to have their own Council, under the Emperor, in isolation, although as Theodoret says : * "Pope Julius, adhering to the law of the Church, both commanded them to repair to Rome, and summoned Athanasius to trial." "Both they and we were summoned," says St. Athanasius himself.†

And so these Bishops pleaded that the decision of the Council of Tyre should not be subject to appeal. It will be well, then, to resume briefly the whole position.

After the Council of Nicæa it seemed as if the Church had entered upon an era of triumph. But one catastrophe changed the whole face of things. An Arian gained the ear of Constantine, and henceforth the whole weight of Imperial influence was brought to bear upon the establishment of heresy. St. Athanasius, seizing the bridle of the Emperor's horse, and insisting upon his abating his opposition to the Catholic Faith,

* H. E. ii. 4.

† Apol. c. Arian, n. 1.

was but a flash of light in the heavy cloud that now settled down upon the Church in the East. Constantine was persuaded that he was enforcing the Nicene Faith; and Eusebius was victorious all along the line, in both mounting himself, from throne to throne, in the teeth of Nicene regulations, and in deposing the orthodox Bishops. And the weapon that he victoriously opposed to the Council of Nice was a Synod convoked by the Emperor.* It was a line of action to be repeated in the history of the Church—viz., a Synod of Bishops, under the influence of the Crown, deciding as to the government of the Christian Church. And it entered upon the platform of Church history under the patronage of the deadliest foe that the Church has ever known. It was the darling project of an Arianising Emperor, under the influence of an Arian Bishop. In this case, however, the Bishop was the foe, the Emperor the instrument. It was not yet the theory of the independence of National Churches, but it was akin to it, and its natural parent. The supremacy of the Crown was ousting the supremacy of the Holy See. Imprisoned or exiled Bishops in communion with the See of St. Peter were the immediate result of the alliance between Church and State which sprung up through the wily machinations of Eusebius, Bishop first of Berytus, then of Nicomedia (when the Court was there), and lastly (on the Court's removal), Bishop of Constantinople. In concert with the Emperor, the whole constitution of the Church was soon further assailed by the attempt of Eusebius' successors to base the jurisdiction of Patriarchs, not on their connection with Apostolic origin, but on the secular position of their city. It was the world against the Apostle; Cæsar usurping the prerogatives of Peter. Constantinople, but a few years ago, was a spot all but unknown, whose Bishop was suffragan to the Bishop of Heraclea. Now it was new Rome, and its Bishop aspired to be a second Pope. The Pope was the successor of St. Peter, and therein his strength lay; but the Apostle had selected the centre of the world for the base of his operations, and as the centre had shifted, why might not the new Imperial city be also the centre of a new Patriarchal jurisdiction? The answer was, that Peter, not Cæsar, is the governor of the Christian Church.

It was in the beginning of this struggle for precedency, doubtless without an idea of the issues in store, but simply with the desire to compel unity in the now distracted Church, that Constantius, listening to the falsehoods, by means of which the Eusebians had already deposed Eustathius from Antioch, and

* See this expanded in the "Throne of the Fisherman, &c.," ch. vi.

were now deposing Athanasius from Alexandria, and Paul from Constantinople, proceeded to assemble a Council at Antioch, and this Council passed a Canon, which ran thus: "A Bishop who has been deposed by a Council may not resume his office, nor be restored by any subsequent Council, if, after his deposition, he has dared to execute ecclesiastical functions." St. Athanasius had been "deposed" at Tyre, and after his return from banishment had zealously resumed his work as Bishop. They claimed, as St. Julius states, in answer to the preliminary Synod, that the first judgment should not be considered open to revision. It was on this point that the Pontiff at once joined issue in his celebrated letter preserved by St. Athanasius.

On what ground did he oppose their claim to be subject to no appeal? First, on the ground of novelty; secondly, on the ground of a Nicene Canon, establishing the novelty of their plea. Where, then, is this Canon to be found? St. Athanasius, who produced the letter of Julius in his own behalf, must have known of it; St. Julius knows of no question as to its existence and genuineness. It is to be found in the *Commonitorium* of St. Zosimus, which he addressed to the African Bishops, when he sent his Legate Faustinus to settle the affair of Apiarius. It occurs in some of the old manuscripts of the Nicene Canons; it is quoted by Boniface, by St. Jerome, and Innocent I. But it afterwards received, with those in the midst of which it occurs, the name of Sardican. It is, in a word, one of the *so-called* Sardican Canons.

Baronius and others felt that some Nicene Canon, or Canons, were missing, to which St. Julius here refers. But Vincenzi has shown that he referred to those which, for some reason or other, came, some centuries after, to be called (by mistake) the Sardican Canons. He produces overwhelming evidence to show that no Canons were drawn up at Sardica. St. Athanasius, who was present at Sardica, and who professes to give an account of everything that happened there, says not a word about any Canons; neither do Socrates or Sozomen, though professing to enumerate the acts of the Council. No Pontiff, no one of the Fathers, of that century or the next, mention any Canons of Sardica; whilst St. Ambrose cites Nicene regulations about appeals, but says not a word of Sardican Canons. Damasus and Siricius answer questions, of which the summary is included in the so-called Sardican Canons, yet preserve absolute silence as to their being Sardican. Innocent, speaking of abuses connected with ordinations, says they are in contempt of the Nicene Canons, and cites what is called a Sardican Canon, but he calls it Nicene. St. Augustine and the African Bishops never heard of any Canons of Sardica. Neither Zosimus, nor Boniface, nor

Celestine, fell back on the authority of Sardica, which they surely would have done in meeting the difficulty of the African Bishops, had any Sardican Canons existed. For the authority of Canons passed at Sardica would have been sufficient for the said Bishops, seeing that the Council was universally received, and was not numbered amongst the Ecumenical, only because it did not deal with any new matter of faith. St. Leo, the defender *par excellence* of the Church's Canons, never alludes to any Canons as passed at Sardica, but quotes them as Nicene. Dionysius Exiguus, in his collection of Canons (about 540) expresses his surprise that there are no Greek originals, as there must have been, if they were really Sardican, the Council of Sardica having been convened especially for the Greeks. It is certain that there was no Greek copy sent to the various absent Bishops, as there was of the Rescript, which is simply inexplicable, on the supposition that any Canons on so important a matter as that of appeals, were then passed. The formula, moreover, used in the so-called Sardican Canons, as we now have them, is unusual, and only found in Africa: "Hosius says," &c.

And the introduction of the name of the Pope (in some copies it is "Sylvester") is altogether unprecedented.

On all these, and some other grounds, Vincenzi comes to the conclusion that these Canons cannot rightly be called Sardican.

And yet, whatever they were, they have been universally received, being even incorporated eventually into the African Code. John of Antioch incorporated them into the Code of his Church in the reign of Justinian; and the Constantinopolitan Council in Trullo, assembled to supply Canons omitted in the fifth and sixth General Councils, inserted them in the Oriental Code. Photius himself did the same before his schism. So that they can boast of Ecumenical reception.

They are not therefore forgeries, as Mr. Foulkes and Dr. Littledale assert. Neither are these writers correct in stating that Vincenzi holds them to be such. Dr. Littledale betrays entire ignorance of Vincenzi's treatise. He misstates his thesis, and shows that he cannot even have read the headings of the chapters ("Petrine Claims," p. 96). Mr. Foulkes refers to a particular copy of this writer's work, "*De Sacra Monarchiâ Hebræorum et Christianorum*," in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and says that therein Vincenzi maintains that the so-called Sardican Canons were forged in Africa.* This he calls an "amusing" theory. But whether such a theory could be called amusing or not, it is certainly not amusing that Mr. Foulkes should be guilty of such a gross misrepresentation of

* "Dict. of Chr. Biog." (Smith & Wace), art. "Julius," p. 530, *note*.

the learned author. We have read the particular copy to which Mr. Foulkes refers. And Vincenzi's thesis is that these Canons are what they were called in the old Arabic manuscripts and by the Popes—viz., Nicene; and that the copy of them which we have, and which was later on thought to be of Sardican origin, is merely a *later commentary on the Nicene Canons by orthodox African Bishops*, the original Greek copies of the Nicene Canons having been mutilated by the Arians. This is a theory which satisfactorily accounts for all the facts of the case. As Vincenzi says, although we are brought by the facts to deny any Canons having been published by the Council of Sardica, still we must stand to the witness of the universal Church, which is to the effect that the Nicene Fathers sanctioned certain Canons for the safety of ecclesiastical discipline, and particularly concerning the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff which have been subtracted or mutilated by treachery. St. Julius speaks of appeals to the Holy See, in case of difference arising amongst Bishops, as a "custom," and we must press the point that he who would base his "historical Christianity" on the supposition that St. Julius, the friend and supporter of Athanasius, in a letter preserved and produced by the latter, was either in absolute ignorance of the immediate past, or that he, in plain words, told a lie, must stand convicted of refusing to bow to facts. St. Julius's plain statement, recorded by St. Athanasius in his defence of himself, is more trustworthy than a thousand interpretations proceeding from the assumption that the prerogatives of the Holy See were not so developed within the first three centuries. But, further, what St. Julius calls a "custom" here, he had previously called a Canon of the Church, and this Canon he called the embodiment of an ancient custom by "the great Synod," thus plainly indicating that it was on the sixth Canon, which begins, "Let the ancient customs prevail," that his appeal to ecclesiastical rule was based. That Canon had for its heading either "The Roman Church always held the Primacy," or "Let the Roman Church always—*i.e.*, continue to—hold the Primacy." In its present condition it hardly bears out St. Julius's reference. But as expanded in the so-called Sardican Canons, it fully justifies the reference. St. Julius wrote before Sardica met; he therefore presupposes a Canon already in existence of precisely the same nature as the so-called Sardican Canon on the subject. What could it be but Nicene?

It must be remembered, too, that on Julius telling the Eusebians that they ought to come to Rome to have their cause tried there, on the ground that the Nicene Council sanctions the acts of one Council being revised by another, they did not at once protest against the claim. On the contrary, they prac-

tically admitted it, as they excused themselves on the ground of peculiar present difficulties, and the length of the journey. They had indeed, themselves, in the first instance, appealed to Rome, showing how deeply the principle of appeal to Rome was already rooted in the mind of Christendom. They had no idea of Eastern, much less of national, independence. This was an after-thought, a mode of defending their impiety, as St. Athanasius calls it, the only way of bolstering up their Arian position.

It will be apparent from the words that we have quoted from St. Julius, that Canon Bright's explanation* of the matter does not satisfy the facts of the case. St. Julius (says the writer, the italics are our own) "when he wrote to the Eusebians that the Nicene Fathers decreed that one Council's resolutions might be reviewed by another [*'Athanas. Apol.,' c. Ari. 22*] means only that *they acted on this principle* by considering the Arian question *de novo* after it had been determined by the Synod of Alexandria." But St. Julius does not quote the example of the Nicene Fathers, but alludes to their ruling in a Canon; and he emphasises the case of the Bishop of Alexandria, the second Petrine See, being subject to "the Church in this place"—*i.e.*, Rome, and to that only, which introduces the principle of hierarchical order, culminating in Rome, and based on the Nicene Canons. It suggests, in fact, the sixth Nicene Canon, only in its fuller form, as quoted by his successors, and as preserved, in some shape, in the so-called Sardican Canons.

But, in reality, this settlement at Nicæa of the question of appeals to Rome, is a thought which runs through the action and letters of the Pontiffs and of the Fathers of the last half of the fourth century. Of course there are writers so dead to all sympathy with the saints who ruled the Church during this period, that they can bring themselves to suppose that Pontiff after Pontiff acted in such culpable ignorance of the Canons which, according to their own reiterated statement, they were set to guard, that they could perpetually quote in their own behalf, for their own supposed ambitious purposes, Canons of lower authority, as though possessed of higher, and under the feigned name of the higher. It would be well indeed if they stopped there. Dr. Littledale, for instance, in the book to which we have alluded above as having high sanction in the Church of England, in order to prove his absurd theory about the Papal succession, blackens the character of St. Damasus. He has against his theory Valentinian's sentence against Ursinus, the Council at Rome, the Council at Aquileia, the eulogia of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, Rufinus, Socrates, and other historians. He has on

* "Notes on the Canons of the first four General Councils." Oxford. 1882.

his side the schismatics Marcellinus and Faustinus. These two schismatics, and these alone, he quotes as his authority ("Petrine Claims," p. 310). This is a fair sample of Dr. Littledale's "history." We have already alluded to his gross misrepresentation of Vincenzi's treatise. And Dr. Littledale's writings are one of the pillars and columns on which the actual Church of England rests at this moment. There are numbers of persons at this moment in the Church of England, and persons of no small account, in whose minds Dr. Littledale's lucubrations represent "historical Christianity." But amongst writers of an altogether different and higher stamp, stands the present Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. If, as a matter of fact, the bulk of those who lay claim to "historical Christianity" adopted Canon Bright's platform instead of Dr. Littledale's, it is hardly likely that they would long remain where they are. There are so many admissions, due to pure scholarship and betraying a mind in sympathy with much that is Catholic, that no great number would rest satisfied without going on to their logical issue. Still we have fair subject for complaint against such a passage as the following in the "Notes on the First Four General Councils" (p. 78) *: "Just as the Roman series of Canons in the fifth century confounded Sardican Canons with Nicene, and led the Roman Bishops, first in ignorance, as in the case of Zosimus and Boniface, and afterwards, *in spite of authentic information* (as in the case of Leo Ep. 43), to quote as Nicene what was really Sardican, just as Gregory of Tours long afterwards called a Canon of Gangra Nicene."

We will not stay to point out what a chasm there is between the circumstances of Gregory of Tours and those of the Roman Pontiffs to which we are referring. But we may well ask for some deeper reverence for the name of saint; we may well ask that those who have in their hands the education of youth in our universities, should not be at such pains to unweave the crown which the Church has placed on the head of the "great" representative of religion in the fifth century, and whom probably Canon Bright would dignify with the name of St. Leo the Great. St. Leo the Great a simple liar! Would it not be well to confess a mystery, and to suppose that St. Leo had good reasons for deeming that the "information" was not "authentic?"

We could not really have better witnesses to the Canons than the Popes in the latter half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth.† There is literally no evidence that they were

* The italics are our own.

† Mr. Gore goes still greater lengths as to St. Leo in his account of the Saint, published by the S.P.C.K., and Canon Bright more than once refers to the book in his most recent work.

influenced by carnal ambition. They were engaged in a death-struggle with Arianism, Macedonianism, and Pelagianism, in the years succeeding the Nicene Council. They defended the faith to the death. They bear a high character for sanctity, and the world's future hung on their veracity and zeal. Their uniform characteristic was their perpetual reference to the rules of the Church, and their sense of responsibility as the guardians of the same. Orthodox Christendom was with them in their estimate of their divinely appointed rôle as guardians of the Church's faith and discipline. Their witness, therefore, is really unimpeachable. They were acting under the gaze of Christendom, and they perpetually acted, not autocratically or imperiously, but using Councils as their organs, and pleadings as their instrument. There is, indeed, always a royal tone about their ways and words, as "to the manner born"; but there is ever at the same time the generosity of the great who can afford to treat with equanimity the cavillings of the dissatisfied.

Now there is one thing of which their conscience seems specially to have acquitted them, and that is, of acting against the Canons of the Church. They lived in them, treasured them, produced them, and professed to act upon them; they were guardians of them, or they were nothing. When, therefore, Pontiff after Pontiff quotes a Canon as Nicene, and quotes it after it has been questioned, it is as good historical evidence as can well be obtained, that the Canon in question was properly called Nicene, whether as an accepted appendix added at Sardica, or as actually Nicene, but preserved at Rome only. It is beyond our subject to enter into the fifth century; but, after considering the various allusions in the letters of Innocent, Boniface, and Celestine in the fifth, and St. Ambrose in the fourth, not to speak of Gelasius's letter to Faustus later on (493), there does seem to us plain evidence that there was some Nicene Canon dealing with the question of appeals at Rome more fully than the Sixth Canon in its present condition, and exactly equivalent to the so-called Sardican Canons—probably the original form of the said Sixth Canon of Nice. And what can be more easy to imagine than that the Arians, when in possession of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, mutilated the Nicene Canons? This is to impute to them less evil than all orthodox Anglican writers admit they actually did in other respects. Canon Bright himself would admit their unscrupulousness, and their general impiety. At Rome, alone of the great Sees, the chain of conscientious, high-minded occupants was, in the providence of God, uninterrupted. We should, therefore, from a Christian point of view, trust the evidence of the Bishops of Rome, on such a matter as these Canons, beyond

the silence of the Constantinopolitan or other records, knowing, as we do, that it was a favourite practice of the Arians to mutilate and forge documents. It is unphilosophical to the last degree to speak, as some Anglicans do, of the admitted sway which Rome exercised over Christendom as due to her moral majesty and her loyalty to the Apostolic Faith, and in the same breath to write her down as cheating in the game of ambition, and quoting Canons as Nicene which she knew were not, and that too, in her great representative, whose tome Canon Bright speaks of as "one of the most precious documents in Christian literature." When St. Leo—for it is he of whom we speak—sent his Legates to the Council of Chalcedon, he says that he will thus preside through them, so that the Bishops may know what he teaches as the ancient tradition, and in his letter (quoted in our last number) to Alexandria, he strikes the great key-note of his action—loyalty to the rules laid down for the guidance of the Church by the Apostles, of which, as the successor of St. Peter, he is the selected, and, in his own judgment, the unworthy guardian. St. Agatho, later on, in commending his Legates to the sixth General Council, speaks of them as men not versed in subtleties of interpretation, but as possessed of something better—viz., accurate knowledge of the traditions of the Faith as preserved by the Apostolical See. This was exactly the virtue of the Roman Pontiffs, and in them it was, for the interests of Christendom, the virtue of virtues.

One thing, then, we may say is quite certain—viz., that the so-called Sardican Canons, at any rate, express the mind of the Nicene Fathers, and embody the ancient customs of which they speak. For our own part, we are persuaded that they are not Sardican, but Nicene; and it is at least beyond dispute that they eventually obtained universal acceptance. The Anglican claim necessarily involves the contention either that they were forgeries, or that they were not generally received. Against the former theory the evidence is of extraordinary weight, sufficient to decide any historical question. Against the latter, there are only two supposed letters from Africa, one of which cannot, in all fairness, be considered beyond question as to its authenticity. It is the letter from which Dr. Pusey was so fond of quoting, and Dr. Littledale makes it one of his greatest points. It is always mentioned in connection with the name of St. Augustine, whereas that honoured name is conspicuous by its absence, whilst it has the name of that young Bishop who had so misbehaved himself, and whose case was referred to Rome by the Primate of Carthage, *whither St. Augustine followed it*, and at the moment, when according to this impossible letter, the African Church was protesting against appeals. St. Augustine, in his letter to the Pope

about Bishop Antony, accepts *to the full* the principle of appeal in the case of Bishops ! Against the letter of the African Bishops, which it seems most difficult to consider genuine, considering the signatures, there is the continuous and contemporaneous action of St. Augustine and the African Bishops, all of them taking appeals to Rome for granted, without a protest, and St. Augustine's perpetual declarations about the "Apostolic See" and the reverence due to it as such. Is it safe, then, is it "historical perception," to rest a case of such magnitude as the Anglican position on so frail a reed ? Where is the adequate evidence to rebut the assertion of St. Julius that it was in his time a novelty for Bishops to deal with the case of a Bishop of Alexandria by themselves, instead of repairing to Rome to obtain a just sentence there ? And St. Julius wrote thus only seventeen years after the Council of Nicæa.

But let us (waiving the question as to whether these Canons are literally Nicene, or Nicene in the sense of being a genuine appendix to the Nicene Canons) consider the question, What is their witness ?

Three are of special importance as bearing on the subject before us. Canon Three decides against Bishops passing from Province to Province, "lest we should seem to close the door of charity." If this were Sardican, it may have had special regard to Eusebius, who had passed from Berytus to Constantinople ; if Nicene, as we contend, it may have been concerned with his passage from Berytus to Nicomedia, where he was Bishop when the Council of Nicæa sat. The Canon further provided that in the event of a Bishop having a "case" against another Bishop, the Metropolitan should convene a Provincial Synod. If the accused lost his case, he was not to be allowed simply of himself to appeal to some neighbouring Bishops, as was the tendency, but if he wished it, an appeal was to be arranged for him, and in the same region. There is no question here of appeal to Rome in the full technical sense. But "Julius, the Bishop of Rome" (if that be the true reading—for some copies have "Sylvester") was to be asked to settle the judges that should form the new Synod, if it was thought well for the case to be reheard. In deciding this, which was, as we have said, asking Rome to select the judges, the unusual formula adds as a reason, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter." Supposing this to be Sardican, it would contain a judgment upon the Council of Antioch. The irregularity of that Council consisted in the fact that not only did the Emperor call a Council without consulting the Holy See, but the Emperor was allowed to select the judges. The Greek historian, Socrates, writing of this Council, says : "Julius, Bishop of old Rome, was not there, nor did he indeed send a represen-

tative, although the ecclesiastical rule expressly commands that the Church shall not make Canons without the consent of the Bishop of Rome" (ii. 8). It is difficult to suppose that Socrates refers to anything here but the Nicene Canons. But be that as it may, the device of the Eusebians was a radical innovation on the constitution of the Church. Had such a course been permitted, Arianism, which was so successful in attracting to itself first Constantine, and then, still more decisively, his son Constantius, would have gained the day. Had it been allowed to the Emperor to convoke Councils for cases of appeal, without reference to the Holy See, as Constantine had done in the case of Tyre, and Constantius in the case of Antioch; had it, moreover, been permitted to the Crown to appoint the judges, as at Tyre, the most fundamental feature of the polity of the Church would have been destroyed. It would have ceased to be Apostolical in its government; and when the Empire was separated into various nations, each tribe would have had its own independent national Church. The Anglican theory would have become a fact, the unity of the Church would have disappeared, and the guardianship of the holy faith been rendered impossible. No wonder then that the Sardican Fathers, if the Canon was theirs, determined still to honour the memory of the Apostle Peter; or that the Nicene Fathers, whose Canon we suppose it to be, in view of fundamental principles necessary in the immediate future, rather than of such bitter experience as the Sardican Fathers would have had, said amongst themselves, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter," in the future as in the past; and that the African Fathers in their later commentary recorded these utterances of Nicene Fathers used in the discussion about the Canon.

Canon Four deals with appeals to Rome. What was to happen in the case of Bishops who, having lost their cause in the second Court, have thence appealed to Rome? Their See must not be occupied by another. This was a matter which the Nicene Fathers could easily foresee would be likely to happen in the future, or if the Canon be Sardican, this had already arisen; and here it is no longer the informal utterances of members of the Council, and the particular occupant of the Holy See is no longer mentioned. It is now simply "the Bishop of Rome."

Canon Seven, again, deals with the case of a Bishop who, having been condemned in the court of first instance—viz., the Synod of his Province—appeals, without recourse had to a second Synod, straight to Rome. It will then, according to the Canon, belong to "the Bishop of Rome" to say whether he thinks it is a case for revision; and if he decides in the affirmative, it will rest with him either to remit the case to the Bishops of the Province adjoining that in which the condemned Bishop lives, or to send

a Legate *a latere*, who can undertake the case, either by himself, or in conjunction with the Bishops of the neighbouring Province.

Now these Canons obtained reception in East and West. Even if we believe the two protesting letters from Africa to be genuine, which is, from various causes, extremely unlikely, the African Bishops would have been in a small minority; and in the second letter St. Augustine's name does not appear, nor that of any of the Bishops who were his special friends, whilst, as we have said, the young scamp, whom he incautiously ordained, does appear; and further, these said letters do not represent the mature thought of the African Province, for the Canons were eventually adopted by them. They must, then, be admitted to represent the mind of the Church in those early ages. Constantinople and Alexandria, although their (probably) corrupted copies of the sixth Nicene Canon did not contain these said provisions, do not say a word, so far as history tells us, against their justice; whilst they certainly incorporated them eventually into their Code.

But these Canons presuppose a mode of unity which is an emphatic condemnation of the Anglican theory of Church government. They barred the possibility of independent National Churches. They nipped that natural tendency in the bud. They condition appeals to Rome. But they assume their necessity; they do not inaugurate them. In neither of these Canons is the question dealt with as to whether there ought to be appeals at all. They suppose that there will. The third Canon does not deal with appeals to Rome at all—in the strict sense of the word. It only provides for requests to Rome for the selection of judges in a fresh local court of appeal. Hence, all that has been said about the words, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter," inaugurating a new system of appeal to Rome, falls to the ground. Although, even if this Canon could be proved to deal with appeals to Rome, it would be fair to argue that the memory of the Apostle Peter may be just as much honoured by adhering to an old custom as by a new arrangement. That is to say, the words themselves do not indicate novelty. And the defence which has been set up by Anglicans, as, for instance, by Dr. Pusey, to the effect that the Canon specially mentions Julius by name, and that therefore the arrangement applied to him alone in his lifetime, fails to account for the previous words, "Let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter." It is as successor of Peter that Sylvester or Julius is to be asked to appoint judges; and Julius's successor was, equally with himself, the successor of the Apostle Peter.

But the fourth and seventh Canons do deal with the subject of

appeals to Rome, and in them, anyhow, the name is dropped, and the general term for the office is used.

Whether, then, Nicene or Sardican, these Canons bear out the statement of Julius to the Eusebians that they were guilty of disorder in not recognising that, in case of ordinary Bishops, the appeal lay from East to West, and that in the case of the Bishop of Alexandria the appeal lay straight to Rome.

So far, then, it is evident that the only religious body in England at this moment which represents historical Christianity, as we find it in the first three centuries after the death of the Apostles, is that which is often called the "Roman Catholic Church," and which has alone the right to be called simply the "Catholic Church."

Had the Anglican theory of Church Government been in vogue at that time, the Church must have sunk under the Erastianism of Imperial Christianity. Constantius, the most dangerous foe that the Church has had, could deal with the fickle, quarrelsome, over-subtle Eastern mind. With the West, and its distinct adherence to the Nicene settlement, and its consciousness of strength in the possession of the Apostolic traditions, he could do nothing. His success against Athanasius was at one time terrible. It was only checked by one thing. He could not gain the occupant of the Holy See to his side. The heathen historian tells us how this one exception meant everything, and how he could not be satisfied whilst he left one stone unturned to win Liberius. Liberius had succeeded Julius; and Liberius, like Julius, stood on the rock of Apostolic tradition. He could say, to use his own words, "Never was it my own statutes, but those of the Apostles which I guarded and carried out." Constantius, therefore, set to work to win Liberius, which would, as St. Athanasius says, have been equivalent to winning the whole Church to his side. But neither threats nor bribes availed to move the aged Pontiff. Firm as a rock, he went into exile, "the admiration of all," says St. Athanasius, in direct contradiction to St. Jerome's inaccurate account, which makes him sign an heretical formula before he set out. What he did at the end of his two years' exile and ill-treatment we shall never know. We know from Sozomen that the atmosphere was charged with Arian calumnies, and that these calumnies did not spare the Pontiffs. In this case it would seem that calumny, which loves to shoot its arrows in the dark, availed itself of a period in the life of Liberius, of which we have no authentic information, to suggest that his return from exile was owing to his having signed against Athanasius. The formula he signed has never been produced, nor can any one say what it was. Forgery has been busy about it; for all accurate writers now admit, as Canon Bright himself does, that the so-called

Fragments of St. Hilary on the subject are spurious. The passage in St. Athanasius's Apology, to which Mr. Gore refers, does not speak of a fall, but merely of Liberius not having completed his term of exile. The passage in the history of the Arians was written before the supposed fall took place.* This is admitted by all; and if it were genuine, it denies that the incident in Bercea counted for anything. And there are these crushing facts, that neither Socrates nor Theodoret allude to this passage, although they had St. Athanasius's work before them; that Nicephorus Callixtus, whilst following Sozomen in his account of matters up to this, drops him here; and that Rufinus, "with his bark full of malice," as St. Jerome describes him, was unable to find a reason in St. Athanasius's works for the return of Liberius, which negatives the idea that the said passage was then to be found in St. Athanasius.

Those who take their stand on St. Jerome's witness are obliged to correct his account, since it is manifestly untrue as it stands, whilst they invariably refuse to accept his witness against Meletius. The fact is that St. Jerome is to be revered for his knowledge of Holy Scripture, and his eminent sanctity, and as a witness to the Church's teaching; but in matters of history he is constantly at fault. Sulpicius Severus, Socrates, Theodoret, are more to be relied on when they agree; and they agree in knowing nothing of the supposed fall of Liberius. Indeed, the manuscript of St. Jerome, which the Queen of Sweden gave to the Vatican, and which seems to belong to the sixth or seventh century, does not contain the passage.

There is, however, another point which needs to be emphasised. There was in the time of Liberius an active correspondence carried on by the Bishops all round; they speak of the Councils held, the professions of faith adopted, the zeal of some Bishops, the defection of others. There is mutual encouragement and sympathy in the distresses of the times; but there is no mention, no distant allusion, to any idea of Liberius, the Pope, having subscribed a suspicious formula, or condemned Athanasius. And yet the principal events of the time were known to these numerous Bishops. There is correspondence between Athanasius and Liberius, but no consciousness of injury in the past, nor demand for renewed affection in the present.

No. What Liberius did sign for certain was in support of Athanasius; what he did sign, as undoubted matter of history, was the condemnation of the heretical Councils of Tyre, Arles, Milan, Rimini; he did sign the confirmation of the Catholic

* Bottalla has completely demolished the idea that St. Athanasius added it afterwards, cf. "*Autorité du Pape*," vol. i. pp. 239-41. 1877.

Synods of Rome and Alexandria. The authentic acts of his Pontificate include a definition of the Divinity of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity, the reconciliation of the Macedonians, the mission of Eusebius of Vercellæ, and of Lucifer of Cagliari to the East, the nomination of Elpidius as Legate to Sclavonia, a letter of congratulation and encouragement to the Bishops exiled for the faith, general decrees touching the attitude to be maintained towards the penitent signatories of Rimini, and the project of erecting, in obedience to a miraculous intimation, the great church of St. Maria Maggiore outside the walls of Rome. Thus Liberius stood at the centre of the Church's life, and acted upon its whole circumference. But there is no indication whatever of ambitious encroachment; the exercise of his Primacy is drawn out of him by the irregularities, and weaknesses, and apostasies of bishops; in a word, he practically said, with St. Gregory the Great: "Where fault is to be found, I know not what bishop is not subject to this See." His maxim is the same as his predecessors. "Never," his words are, "was it my own statutes, but those of the Apostles which I guarded and carried out." "As long as the family lives in peace and quiet, the father's authority is hardly observed," says Möhler (Kg. i. 589); but in Liberius's time the peace of the Church was disturbed, and his authority made itself felt. Yet no one, that we have heard of, accuses Liberius of the sin of ambition. He was, according to St. Basil, "the most blessed Bishop Liberius"; according to St. Epiphanius, "the Pontiff of blessed memory"; according to Cassiodorus, "the great Liberius, the most holy Liberius," "in all things most renowned"; in the words of St. Ambrose he was the "thrice holy Bishop"; in the words of Theodoret, "the illustrious athlete for the faith." He is in the menology of the Greeks a saint distinguished as "the blessed Liberius, defender of the truth," "whose zeal for the orthodox faith caused him to undertake the defence of the great Athanasius." His exile is there related, and his return, but not a whisper of any defection, the account ending with saying that "he died at Rome, after having governed his flock well."

There is a sentence in Sozomen's history concerning Liberius which it is difficult to explain, except upon the supposition that the historian has anticipated what happened in the reign of Damasus. Speaking of the followers of Macedonius, the semi-Arian Bishop of Constantinople, whose teaching was then spreading, he says (H. E. vi. 22): "The Bishop of Rome, finding that this question was being agitated with much animosity, and the dispute become more bitter every day, wrote to the Churches of the East, imposing on them the doctrine of the clergy of the West—viz., that the Three Persons of the Trinity have one sub-

stance and equal dignity." According to Socrates, this decision had a quieting effect, at least for the time being. The dispute having been "decided once for all (*ἄπαξ*) by the Church of the Romans, they each had rest."

Whether this refers to Damasus rather than to Liberius, as Coustant thinks, or to a decision from Liberius of which we have no other record, as Bottalla considers, one thing is certain—viz., that the legates of the Synod of Lampsacum addressed Liberius and the Westerns, and offered, if there was any accusation against them, to submit their case to any Bishop whom Liberius might appoint, another witness to the general reception of the Nicene, or Sardican, regulations to which we have seen St. Julius referring. So far, then, the Anglican theory of the independence of National Churches can only find its sponsors amongst those who denied the divinity of our Lord, and sought to maintain a place for themselves in the Church by reliance on the Imperial Crown instead of the See of St. Peter. There is one more reign within the three first centuries (the period nowadays selected by Anglicans as their impregnable stronghold) with which we shall close this account of primitive "historical Christianity."

Liberius having attained to his reward, the great Damasus sat on the Fisherman's Throne. Ozanam, in his graphic description of the Church in the following century, says that until the accession of St. Leo, the See of St. Peter had been occupied by saints and martyrs rather than by what we should call men of genius. In St. Leo the Church salutes the first genius in a Pope. There is some truth in this. The foundations of the Church's order were certainly laid by the hands of saints in the first three centuries, and, as we have seen, their normal end was the martyr's death. But in Damasus we have a combination of ascetic piety and learning, or, as we should now call it, scholarship, just as in St. Dionysius, in the previous century, we recognise the characteristics of the theologian proper. The Pope was the infallible guardian of divine tradition, and there was, if we may so say, a certain fitness in their being conscientious, even to sanctity, rather than subtle or learned, in the world's judgment. Zeal for the faith—that divine love of truth which will not brook or comprehend in the Church's net the teacher of false doctrine—is what we should most expect in the early occupants of that See, which was set for the preservation of the deposit of divine truth. And such, as matter of fact, was the characteristic feature of the early Popes. St. Damasus was not behind his predecessors in this necessary attribute of a Pope; but he shone in other qualities besides. His compositions are elegant and scholarly; his love of Holy Scripture, as evidenced in his letters to St. Jerome,

witnesses to his piety ; his personal asceticism was not affected by his large hospitality, which was the butt of contemporary heathen calumnies. But, besides all this, his letters are pitched in the same key as those of the Popes of the two first centuries. Like St. Clement, he exhibits the consciousness of possessing a tradition which it was peculiarly his to hand on from St. Peter, as the representative of the Apostles. He was, on the one hand, the first to call himself by that title which has ever since been adopted by the Popes, "servant of the servants of God"; on the other hand, he was, according to the sixth General Council, with a play on his name, "the adamant of the faith." It was during his occupancy of the Holy See that the second General Council was held.

That Council was not held under his presidency, as was the case with other General Councils. And a Canon, which goes by the name of a Canon of that Council, affords to Anglicans (together with its complement in the shape of a so-called twenty-eighth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon) their strongest bulwark within the first four centuries.

It is necessary, therefore, that we should examine the course and issue of this Council.

The first Council of Constantinople was not Ecumenical in its origin, but only *in exitu*. It was summoned as an Eastern Council only; and a mere Eastern Council is not the *ecclesia congregata* on any principle, either Anglican or Catholic. It is not such on Catholic principles; for a body without its head is not a body, but a corpse. It is not the *ecclesia congregata* on Anglican principles, as those principles are generally held, for it does not consist of East and West, and its general acceptance, on which they lay so much stress, has not yet taken place. The Council of Constantinople was Eastern, and to heal an Eastern disease, and settle a disputed succession in the East. Arianism, as Mr. Allies remarks,* was an Eastern malady. It had well-nigh ruined the Empire, whose powers it had used for its own establishment. Constantius, the weaker edition of his father Constantine, had espoused it, and under him Catholics had suffered as severely as under some heathen persecutions. Valens, on succeeding to the Empire, followed in his footsteps, and was guilty of one of the most cold-blooded murders that history records. Eighty orthodox ecclesiastics were burnt at sea by his order for the mere crime of having asked for an orthodox bishop. The West had suffered a while under Constantius's single rule, but had enjoyed peace from Imperial persecution, indeed Imperial favour, under Valentinian. But Imperial favour had

* "Throne of the Fisherman," p. 241.

never set its foot within the sanctuary of the Church's government, as at Constantinople. A non-Catholic historian,* relates how, as the prestige of Rome, from a civil point of view, decayed, her spiritual supremacy grew upon men's minds. The ordinary Anglican idea of the supremacy of the See of Rome being due to the imperial majesty of the city of Rome, is as untenable during the period between the Nicene Council and the first Council of Constantinople, as we saw it to be in regard to the previous age of persecution. A decaying city does not impart her pristine glory to anything that belongs to her. Had the See of Rome depended upon the secular position of Rome, it must have waned in power with the waning prestige of the city. The "widowed empress of the world" could impart nothing in the way of majesty to the occupant of the See within her, save a widow's weeds. Nothing, that is, in the way of imperial power. Tender recollections, indeed, and certain awe-inspiring thoughts, sad and enervating, are the natural inheritance of departed glory, but not practical power. As the city of the Cæsars died away into a mere municipal town, something more than a past history was needed to make her the centre, in another sphere of action, of a world-wide power. True "the faith of the Romans" had never failed, and men marked it well. But even this will not account for men's trust in her for the future. For they felt not merely that her faith had not failed, but that it could not fail; as St. Cyprian said, "perfidy cannot gain access to them." A divine promise, and the recognition of this in Christendom, will adequately account for the phenomenon of her rule; but this is an explanation which the Anglican is bound to deny. He will admit, as Mr. Gore does, the action of Divine Providence preserving her from failing in the delivery of her deposit, except on certain imaginary occasions; but he cannot admit her to be the heir of the promise, "I am with you all days to the consummation of the ages." We, too, love to dwell on the special Providence that protected Rome; but we regard this Providence as the result of a promise, and we join with it the name of Peter, and our thoughts ascend to Cæsarea Philippi, and we listen to the creative words of our Divine Lord, "Thou art Peter: and on this rock I will build My Church." We see the finger of God in the special provision, whereby the See of Peter was alone in her majesty, without the rival encumbrance of an Imperial Court, and the temptations of Imperial favour. But the final withdrawal of the Court from Rome, on the city showing herself heathen in its general sympathies as Constantine presented himself there for the last time on the side of the Christian faith,

* Gregorovius.

left Rome politically a comparative nonentity ; and a comparative nonentity could not compass a world-wide supremacy. In point of fact, the civil decay of Rome served to discover the force which she had borne within her since the Apostles Peter and Paul "poured into her" (to use Tertullian's expression) "all their doctrine"—a force which had power to counteract the decaying prestige of a city reft of its Court splendour, and to convert such material advantage as remained into the instrument of its beneficent universal sway. That power was the name of Peter ; a name which now began to tower over the world, as the one supreme representative of the Name which is above every name, in which alone is the salvation of the world. Gregorovius, writing not as a Catholic, has the following important remark : "That the Roman Church was already an organisation which nothing could shake, when the ancient kingdom fell, is one of the greatest facts of history in general ; for the collective life of Europe was founded anew upon this firm foundation-stone of the Church." *

But in the East all was different ; the proximity of the Court had proved fatal to the guardianship of the faith. Antioch had never recovered the deposition of its orthodox Bishop, Eustathius, but was suffering from the substitution of a succession of heretics ; whilst heresy had enthroned itself in the See of Constantinople for the last forty years. The one ambition of Emperor after Emperor had been to make Constantinople what Rome had been, a living centre of Imperial rule ; and each succeeding Emperor (save Julian for less than two years) had looked to the Church's unity as the saviour of the Empire ; only one after another had adopted the Arian perversity, and trusted to make the Church one by making her wholly Arian. But the staff on which they leaned had proved a broken reed. The Eastern Church, as it became the home of heresy, proved also a nest of discord. Councils of Bishops had become the horror of saints in the East. "Never saw I Synod brought to a happy issue, and remedying and not rather aggravating evils," says St. Gregory of Nazianzum to Procopius. In the East the love of precedence, of rank, the ambition of Patriarchates—*πατριαρχίας κληροῦσθε*—this, says the same Saint, is "the cyclone that whirls us all about."

At this crisis it was that the Emperor Gratian called one from retirement to share his imperial rule, who was destined to exert a new influence on the Church, and to give the death-blow to Arianism. Theodosius, soon after he was clothed with the purple, wore the white robe of the neophyte, and became the first Catholic Emperor in the East. As he surveyed his new

* Greg. i. 13, quoted by Allies, "Throne of the Fisherman," p. 249.

responsibilities he saw the great Byzantine capital torn by religious dissension; the Episcopal throne was occupied by an Arian; the Nicene faith was set at nought, and a new heresy was gaining ground which denied the substantial Divinity of the Third Person in the Eternal Trinity. Theodosius determined to save the Empire by the saving faith of Nicæa. Rome had already spoken, and defined the faith as to the Third Person as having been contained in the Nicene Creed, and in a Council under Damasus had promulgated its anathema on the rising heresy. And on the 28th of February, A.D. 380, the three Emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, issued the following law:—"It is our will that all the peoples who are governed by our clemency hold the religion which is proved to have been *delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, since it has been maintained there from his time to our own.*" After mentioning the Pontiff Damasus and the Bishop Peter of Alexandria, then an exile at Rome, and after giving the definition of the Holy Trinity, held in Rome and Alexandria, they say:—"Those who follow this law we order to take the name of Catholic Christians."

Here is history in its most rigid form; an Imperial law for the East and West. It recognises the faith of Rome as the norm of all Christian faith; it recognises its tradition there, as an heirloom from the Apostolic times; it recognises its connection with the Apostle Peter. A whole world of theology is contained in this one sentence of the Imperial law, which witnesses to the universality of the teaching concerning the See of St. Peter and the fidelity of Rome to her divine commission.

Closely following upon this law was the determination to convoke a Council of Eastern Bishops to tie them down to the faith of Nicæa, to enthrone an orthodox Bishop at Constantinople, and to effect their adherence to the teaching already issued from Rome, and held at Alexandria, concerning the divinity of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. A Council, we say, of Eastern Bishops—for there was no idea of an Ecumenical Council. There was nothing really fresh to be defined. The Pope had decided that the dogma of the consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost was part of the Nicene faith, and the Christian world had accepted the decision, excepting Macedonius and certain other bishops who were being led away by him. The Council, therefore, did not meet to consider, nor to confirm, much less to revise, the Pope's decision, but to enforce it in the East. Mgr. Maret, by whose book Dr. Pusey was so misled, is entirely at fault in his history in this matter.* He can produce no Greek historian,

* Some of our readers would be surprised if they knew the extent to which some Anglicans have been misled by Mgr. Maret's book. Yet the author is said

nor any ancient document to prove his assertions. Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret are unanimous in their witness to the fact that the Council of Constantinople was assembled to confirm the faith of Nicæa, and to elect a Bishop for Constantinople. The French Bishops, in their letter to Pope Innocent X., admit that the anathemas of Damasus against the Macedonians were irrevocable before the Council of Constantinople.

The Council, then, was convoked by Theodosius, not, if Damasus's letter to Ascholius about Maximus is genuine, without the Pope's cordial approval, but certainly without his taking any active part in it. The disease being Eastern, and substantially the same as that which led to the Council of Nicæa, all that was needed was an assembly of Bishops to signify their adherence to the teaching of Nicæa, as explained by Pope Damasus and other orthodox Bishops. It was necessary for the East to be impregnated with "the religion," as the Emperors described it, "which is proved to have been delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter." In that expression of the edict, an authority is indicated, before which, as a Christian, albeit an Emperor, Theodosius had learnt to bow. The See of Constantinople had become the seat of another heresy, already condemned implicitly by the Nicene Creed, and Theodosius could trust to the remaining "salt," in the person of such Bishops as met in the Byzantine capital, to correct the corrupting element. The expression of the Sixth Council (Act. 18), that "Theodosius and Damasus withstood Macedonius by the second Synod, as Sylvester and Constantine withstood Arius by the Nicene Council," would be satisfied by the fact that Damasus afterwards confirmed what was done in the early sessions of this Synod, as Photius expressly asserts to have been the case (*Lib. de 7 Synodis*). All that is necessary in regard to the convocation of a General Council, that is really representative of the Church universal, is that the authority of the Pope should be exercised by his expressly convoking it, or by tacit consent given to its convocation, or by eventual approbation of such acts of the Council as he deems worthy of approval, by which means he is considered to throw his approval over its assemblage. We are speaking not of what he may do as a matter of right, but of what is necessary for the Council to be styled Ecumenical.

In the early part of this Council Meletius presided, another fact on which great emphasis has been laid by Anglicans, on the ground that he was not in communion with Rome. This latter

to have burnt his book and signed the Vatican Decree. His book completely demolishes the Anglican theory, and on its objectionable side has been answered, chapter by chapter, by F. Bottalla, in his "*Autorité du Pape dans l'Eglise.*" 2 vols. 1877.

assertion has arisen partly from a mistake as to facts, and partly from a misunderstanding as to what constitutes communion with Rome in its lowest power, so to speak.

There are few passages in history which exhibit the genius of government in so favourable a light as the attitude of Rome towards the troubles in Antioch during the Meletian schism. The Pope's Legate, acting beyond the bounds of his commission, had complicated matters by ordaining Paulinus in the most precipitate haste; and the orthodox party for the most part clung to him as their Bishop. Damasus, whilst he probably did not approve of Lucifer's action, would not disavow it. When Vitalis, for instance, was cited as a heretic before Damasus, and went to Rome to defend himself, Damasus delegated his case to the cognisance of Paulinus. But Meletius, on whose ordination there was the stain of Arian complicity, had proved himself, contrary to all expectation, a champion of the faith. Whilst, therefore, Rome, in concert with St. Athanasius, recognised Paulinus as *the* Bishop of Antioch, she did not refuse a place in her communion to Meletius. He had done his best to efface his fault. But for Lucifer of Cagliari's precipitate action, all might have been settled. It was not Meletius's fault that he was not by this time in peaceful relations with all the orthodox. His character was too grand, and his influence too good, for Rome to jeopardise the Christianity of Antioch by giving him a bill of dismissal. He was, therefore, able to claim, as we learn from St. Jerome, communion with Rome, a claim which he would not have falsely made. His name is subscribed as "Bishop of Antioch" to the celebrated epistle of the Roman Synod two years previously to the Council of Constantinople, and the epistle with his signature was inserted in the Roman archives, and he was, beyond dispute, in *mediate* communion with Rome throughout. If St. Athanasius had gone to Antioch we know he would have communicated with Paulinus. St. Basil would have communicated with Meletius. Both were in communion with Rome. St. Jerome, writing from the scene of trouble, endeavours to force the hand of Damasus. He says that he only wishes to know which Bishop is in communion with the See of St. Peter, and he will, as a matter of course, communicate with him. We do not know what Damasus replied, but we know that there is no iota of proof to show that Damasus repudiated Meletius from the roll of Christian Bishops, whilst there is the indirect proof of his communion with Rome just mentioned. And it is in the highest degree improbable that Theodosius, after the Imperial law which made the faith of Rome the norm of the faith, would suffer any one who was excommunicated by the See of St. Peter to preside at a Council which was meant to bring the East into union with the West.

Dr. Littledale, as usual, settles the whole matter in a single sentence, and makes Meletius "repudiated and excommunicated" by Rome, and the S.P.C.K. diligently distributes his lucubrations. Historians are much divided as to who did preside over the Council. Some consider that Meletius presided until the arrival of Timotheus of Alexandria, and that then the latter took his place. Others, holding that Timotheus was in disgrace at Rome, suppose that, Meletius having presided until his death, St. Gregory of Nazianzum immediately took his place, and that after St. Gregory's retirement Nectarius succeeded to the presidency. What seems certain is that the matter of faith was settled before Nectarius was made Bishop at all. And the acts of the Council under Nectarius lacked validity, and cannot be reckoned as part of the Ecumenical Council. So that the acts on which Anglicans lay the greatest stress,* the passing of the celebrated Third Canon, placing Constantinople above Alexandria, are not really those of the Ecumenical Council at all. It is true that Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, told St. Leo in the next century that the said Canon was passed by the 150 Fathers of the Ecumenical Council. But that letter of Anatolius's is a good instance of how thoroughly unreliable a Bishop of Constantinople could be in regard to what passed in previous times in his own city. For are we to believe that Nectarius, Timotheus, Meletius, Helladius, and Cyril all presided and signed it? The list of signatures which has come down to us cannot be correct as it stands. It begins with Nectarius, immediately after the Creed of Constantinople. Now Nectarius was not a Bishop at all when the Constantinopolitan formula was drawn up and sent to Rome. Lower down in the same list comes the signature of Meletius, as though he were present when Nectarius presided, whereas he died before Nectarius was ordained. The Fathers, whoever they were, that signed the Canon were certainly not the 150 Fathers who drew up the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Confession of Faith. The saints are conspicuous by their absence from the assembly which drew up the Canon that exalted Constantinople above Alexandria. St. Gregory of Nazianzum had retired and left them, as he tells us, to their work of pride. Many, he says, fled at the same time—*i.e.*, after the Confession of Faith had been formulated, in accordance, as we know, with Western teaching. Baronius conjectures, with much show of reason, that these "many" of the original 150 Fathers included St. Gregory's friends, such as St. Gregory of Nyssa, Helladius of

* Cf. Gore's "R. C. Claims," p. 102, *note*, in which, whilst resting a great deal on the so-called Twenty-eighth Canon of Chalcedon, he speaks of its referring back its authority to this Canon of Constantinople.

Cæsarea, and the rest of the Bishops from Cappadocia, and Amphilochius of Iconium. Flavian's name appears in the list of those who signed the Canon, but he was certainly not at the Council when it drew up the Confession of Faith. The names of Diodorus of Tarsus and Acacius of Beroëa also appear, who were excommunicated by Rome for consecrating Flavian. Ascholius of Thessalonica, Vicar-Apostolic in the Illyrian Provinces, also appears—a most unlikely person to have had anything to do with the Canon, or to have been present at all, seeing that the Bishops enumerate him amongst those to whom they write their letter addressed to St. Ambrose and the rest assembled in the city of Rome. There must have been an interval between the Confession of Faith and the making of the Canons, for Maximus had been consecrated and had held ordinations which were proclaimed invalid, and had then been driven out, and Nectarius had been consecrated Bishop. By whomsoever, therefore, these Canons were passed, it was not by the same Fathers who signed the Constantinopolitan Creed. It must have been at a session held at some interval of time; it was under different presidency, composed of different Bishops, and with a different aim.*

Accordingly, St. Leo, who seems to have been better informed about Constantinople than Anatolius himself, calls this assemblage that of "certain Bishops," in reply to Anatolius's plea that the 150 Fathers of Constantinople passed the Canon.

This assemblage of "certain Bishops," who claimed to be in succession to the 150, and themselves gave to their meeting the name of an Ecumenical Council, which does not say much for their modesty, wrote a letter to Damasus and his Italian Council, in which they lay suspicious emphasis on the legitimacy and canonicity of what they have done, and hope that it will meet with favour at Rome. They only enumerate what took place at the later session, which shows the complete separateness between this and the meeting of the 150 Fathers. It seems that Theodosius wrote to Rome also, requesting the confirmation of Nectarius's ordination in the shape of letters of communion "from the Roman See," "to make his episcopal position sure."† But in the reply of the Italian Bishops, nearly every statement of importance made by these Bishops from Constantinople is traversed. The Italians speak as having information which led them to doubt the accuracy of the Eastern Synodal letter as to matters which happened on the spot. It is, therefore, inconceivable that they regarded the sessions under Nectarius as a continuation of the Ecumenical Council. Under all these circumstances we are

* Cf. Vincenzi, "De Sacr. Mon. Hebr. et Christ."

† "Quæ ejus Sacerdotium roboraret." Sacerdotium is, of course, used for Episcopate, as so often.

driven to the conclusion that the gathering of Bishops, which passed the Third Canon, as it is generally called, differed altogether from the assembly which drew up the Confession of Faith. The latter received the stamp of Ecumenical reception; the Canons were, at the most, an abortive attempt to change the government of the Church.* The Third Canon was revived at Chalcedon, but not in the Council; a remnant of the Bishops, after the Ecumenical Council, repeated the endeavour of these Bishops at Constantinople, but without success. St. Leo trod them under foot in the name of the Apostle Peter. As guardian of the Nicene regulations, in virtue of his successorship to the Prince of the Apostles, he ruled them out of court. For they were, as he pointed out, in distinct violation of the Nicene settlement. What those "certain Bishops" wanted at Constantinople was to rid themselves of the superior jurisdiction of Alexandria. Peter of Alexandria, and after him Timothy, Peter's successor, had intervened in the affairs of Constantinople, and had supported Maximus, in virtue of the superiority of jurisdiction which belonged to Alexandria. The pride of Constantinople was hurt, and their dislike of Maximus was enlisted against Alexandria's interposition. Being, therefore, the new Rome, why not assume a position in regard to Patriarchal jurisdiction similar to that of old Rome? They expressed their pride and their lack of regard for the order of the Church in their Canon. If we were to believe the signatures in the collection of Labbe, which we have seen grounds for supposing to be spurious, if not fraudulent, we should have to suppose that Timotheus signed his own degradation—an idea which a moment's thought will suffice to dispel. As a matter of fact, Alexandria never accepted the arrangement. Her Bishop proceeded, after and in spite of the Canon, to place St. Chrysostom in the See of Constantinople.

But we have said enough to show that the history of the Council of Constantinople affords no argument to the Anglican in defence of his theory of the independent jurisdiction of National Churches; that, on the contrary, the history of the fifty years immediately succeeding the Nicene Council exhibits the Church as one body, bound together by letters of communion and provincial intercommunication, all gathering round one centre, the See of Peter, and that attempts at autonomy came from those who denied our Lord's divinity, and leant upon the power of this world to establish their heretical doctrine. Orthodoxy reigned, and orthodoxy fled for shelter, in Rome. Rome was not omnipotent, nor omniscient; so that St. Basil could complain of her

* Though it was doubtless of honour, rather than of jurisdiction, that they spoke in the Canon. But jurisdiction was obviously their aim.

not sufficiently coming to the aid of the East. But he did not doubt her right to intervene. He appealed to Damasus, pleading the good that Dionysius of Corinth had done in temporal matters; told him that the matters of which he now spoke were more serious, relating, as they did, to the slavery of the soul, and the loss, not of material fabrics, but of provinces of the Church, and that, therefore, he trusted that Damasus would "visit" the East, in person or by his Legates. St. Ambrose and the Italian Bishops entreat Theodosius to afford what aid he can in relieving Damasus of his difficulties through the opposition of Ursinus, and speak of the Church of Rome as the head of the whole Roman world, "whence the rights of venerable communion flow to all." An instance of the difference in the East, when they looked to Rome and when they trusted to themselves, is to be found in the life of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria. He was expelled from his See by the intrigues of the Arian Bishop, Euzoius, and cast into prison; but he succeeded in escaping from his prison, and appealed to Damasus. The Pope confirmed his ordination, and sent him back to Alexandria with Pontifical letters. And the people of Alexandria, in union with the clergy, forthwith drove out the intruder, Lucius, whom the Emperor Valens had put in the place of Peter. And through all this period we look in vain for proof that Rome was seeking to stretch her prerogative; whilst we have positive proof that the Byzantine See, Arian and Erastian Constantinople, sought to raise itself above Alexandria and Antioch, and, but for Rome's interposition, must have succeeded.

We conclude, then, that the Anglican theory of the independence of National Churches is a subversion of the practical teaching of the Church during the first three centuries; but, that the form of unity impressed on the Church by her Divine Head, when he "selected one to cut off the occasion of schism" (to use St. Jerome's words) proved the salvation of the Christian faith.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

ART. IX.—LEO XIII. ON "THE CONDITION OF LABOUR."

SINCE the divine words, "I have compassion on the multitude," were spoken in the wilderness, no voice has been heard throughout the world pleading for the people with such profound and loving sympathy for those that toil and suffer as the voice of Leo XIII. This is no rhetorical exaggeration, but strict truth. None but the Vicar of our Divine Lord could so speak to mankind. No Pontiff has ever so spoken. No Pontiff has ever had such an opportunity so to speak, for never till now has the world of labour been so consciously united, so dependent upon the will of the rich, so exposed to the fluctuations of adversity and to the vicissitudes of trade. Leo XIII., looking out of the watch-tower of the Christian world, as St. Leo the Great used to say, has before him what no Pontiff yet has ever seen. He sees all the kingdoms of the world and the sufferings of them.

The moan of discontent, of toil, of sorrow goes up before him. The modern world by every agency of knowledge, and by every bond of interest and of intellect has become confluent. It has one intelligence, one conscience, one will, for it is under one law: "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread"; and for millions that bread is scant. Its sufferings are the same, and its needs and demands are the same. The interchange of knowledge is so rapid and complete, not only as of old by messengers and by letters, but by the electric wire and instantaneous transit, that the workers and toilers of all languages and of all lands are united by one living consciousness and by a continual participation in the various changes of labour and of trade. The world of to-day is a world of enormous wealth and endless labour. The Holy Father at the outset of the Encyclical recognises this character of the nineteenth century. He says that "the growth of industry and the surprising discoveries of science; the changed relations of masters and workmen; the enormous fortunes of individuals and the poverty of the masses; the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population," have created a new condition in the world full of elements of conflict; and this is rendered more menacing by "a general moral deterioration" that is in all classes and in all nations. It is upon such a world that he looks down; and his heart is with the poor, "I have compassion on the multitude"—on the poor, who, as he says, are "the majority of mankind."

"All agree," he says, "and there can be no question whatever

that some remedy must be found, and that quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workman's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organisation took their place. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which though more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different form, but with the same guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men; and to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." This is no new pronouncement of Leo XIII. It is perhaps not known to many that the study of this question has long occupied his mind. During his Episcopate at Perugia he issued Pastorals even stronger and more explicit on the sufferings of the workers and the callousness of employers. By a happy providence what he then wrote in a Pastoral to an Umbrian flock, he now promulgates with Apostolic authority to the whole world.

Before we speak of the text of the Encyclical, we must make two preliminary remarks.

Some public critics have censured it for vagueness and generality. They are disappointed because they do not find detailed and particular solutions, remedies, and schemes of action. But they forget that the diversities of nations, in civilisation, in maturity, in climate, in character, in the diversities of natural and industrial products; also in mode of life, and in a multitude of other conditions and circumstances, make it as impossible to prescribe remedies for all nations as it would be to dispense a score of prescriptions for all the hospitals of Europe. It was of absolute necessity to lay down broad principles which serve as major premisses in all arguments of the social order.

The other remark is this: that the Holy Father has lifted "*Political Economy*" from the low level of selfishness in profit and loss, labour and wages, and replaced it on the high and true level of *Social Economy*. The very word *economy* is a protest against the narrowness of the last hundred years. *Economy* is the administration of a household. He is a bad householder who attends only to the weekly bills, and neglects the health, morals, and welfare of the household. There is nothing needed for the well-being and happiness of the family for which domestic *economy* does not vigilantly provide. The finances of the

household are necessary, but subordinate. They are one detail of administration. When we speak of "Political" economy we speak in metaphors. A State is metaphorically a family, a household; and metaphorically it has an administration which is to the commonwealth what economy is to the household. It includes every form of material and moral provision for the public health and welfare. In this, finance and commerce are an important but a subordinate part. The Holy Father has carefully defined this, and its bearing upon Socialism, both the thing and the term, as we shall see hereafter.

The Encyclical divides itself into four parts. The first treats of the origin and constitution of human society. The second shows the unnatural, abnormal, and subversive nature of what is called Socialism. The third treats of the intervention of the State in social questions. The fourth and last treats of the liberty, duties, and co-operation of workers, both men and women. We will follow this order in commenting upon it.

1. As to the origin of human society, it is much to be feared that many will read the Encyclical without weighing its deep and far-reaching enunciation of primary truths. Many also will call them truisms and fail to weigh them. For instance:

1. "Man is older than the State, and he holds the right of providing for the life of his body, prior to the formation of any State."

2. "To say that God has given the earth to the use and enjoyment of the universal human race is not to deny that there can be private property."

3. "When man spends the industry of his mind and the strength of his body in procuring the fruits of nature, by that act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates, that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the *impress of his personality*."

4. "As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labour should belong to him who has laboured."

5. "With reason therefore the common opinion of mankind . . . has found, in the study of nature and in the law of nature herself, the foundations of the division of property, and has consecrated by the practice of all ages the principle of private ownership."

6. "That we have the family: the society of a man's own household: a society limited indeed in numbers, but a true 'society,' anterior to every State or nation, with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the commonwealth."

7. "It is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessities for those whom he has

begotten. . . . A man's children carry on, as it were, and continue his own personality."

8. "The family has at least equal rights with the State in the choice and pursuit of those things which are needful to its preservation, and to its just liberty."

9. "We say at least equal rights, for since the domestic household is anterior, both in idea and in fact, to the gathering of men into a commonwealth, the former must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the latter, and which rest more immediately on nature."

10. "The idea, then, that the Civil Government should, at its own discretion, penetrate and pervade the family and the household is a great and pernicious mistake."

11. "Paternal authority can neither be abolished by the State nor absolved, for it has the same source as human life itself."

12. "The child . . . is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality."

13. "To speak with strictness, the child takes its place in civil society, not in its own right, but in its quality as a member of the family . . . before it attains the use of freewill, it is in the power and care of its parents."

We have thought it best to extract these passages, and to place them in an orderly series, because, embedded in a context full of manifold and various interest, their full force may be easily lost. They are like the axioms of mathematics, the immovable foundations of all reasoning. They are the basis and the constructive lines of human society, which is a Divine creation in the order of nature.

2. The Encyclical then proceeds to describe Socialism by the doctrines of its first teachers and chief writers. The essence of Socialism, according to this statement, consists in the denial of the natural right of property or of private ownership, and in the assertion that it is lawful to reform and constitute human society on the basis of the universal equality of man, and the community of goods.

The Encyclical goes on to show the false and destructive character of Socialism.

The law of property or of private ownership, both in land and in the product of his own labour, is founded in nature, and cannot be abolished by any human authority without a violation of the Divine order of natural society. Neither land nor wages can be nationalised. Property existed before the nation; and rests immediately on nature itself. This does not deny the lawfulness of taxing all property by the State for the safety or welfare of the commonwealth. It denies only the lawfulness of uprooting

the right of property which is in its origin founded on nature itself. There are many kinds of nominal Socialism, which we need not deal with now; but of the original Socialism there are two sections: the one that holds the lawfulness of nationalising both land and the wages of labour; the other that holds the lawfulness of nationalising the land only, but admits the right of private property in the wages and products of personal labour. The Encyclical denies both these claims. Socialism therefore affects to reconstitute human society upon a new foundation and by new laws, and this, whether accomplished by force or by fallacy, is destructive of the natural and normal society of man. For this cause the terms Socialistic and Socialism have an essentially ill signification. Socialism is to society what rationalism is to reasoning. It denotes an abuse, an excess, a de-ordination in human society, as rationalism denotes a misuse and an abuse of reason. All reasoning must be rational that is in conformity with the laws of reason, and all legislation for human society must be both human and social by the necessity and nature of mankind. Inhuman and anti-social law is not law, but tyranny or anarchy. It implies therefore a laxity of thought, or at least of terminology, to speak of Christian Socialism or of Catholic Socialism. The Holy Father is too keen in his apprehension and too exact in his reasoning to admit such confusion even in terms. This will be seen in the third part of the Encyclical, which treats of the intervention of the State in social questions.

Leo XIII. points out that the equality of all men is contradicted by every fact and condition of human life. Both the gifts of nature and the products of human freewill introduce, at every moment, inequalities, which are lawful, innocent, and fruitful of every kind of good. Society itself would not grow, nor would its prosperity and power be developed, if all men were equal. And as society unfolds its own perfections men at once become unequal. The inequalities even of age alone would daily multiply the inequalities of early and middle and mature life. If we were all equal to-day, inequalities would spring up to-morrow. And these very inequalities are the spirit and the means of growing perfection. "It is impossible to reduce human society to a level. The Socialists may do their utmost, but are striving against nature in vain."

If the right of private ownership were violated no one would suffer so much as the poor working-man. It is his ambition and his prayer to possess the roof over his head and the patch of garden which pays his rent. In absorbing rich landlords, the poor cottager is also sacrificed. Property is more vital to those who have little than to those who have much. The rich may

make great losses, and yet have enough to live; but they who live always on the brink of want, are ruined by one privation.

Socialism properly so-called, by the equality of all and the community of goods invades also the domestic life and the rights of parents. "The Socialists therefore, in setting aside the parent, and introducing the providence of the State, act *against natural justice*, and therefore the very existence of family life."

2. The Holy Father goes on to point out the remedy of these social evils. He says: "There is nothing more useful than to look at the world as it is, and at the same time to look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles." It is certain that the world cannot heal itself; it is more certain that Socialism, which violates the primary laws of nature, cannot heal our social evils. Socialism is in itself the master evil in the society of men, being the destroyer of the first laws of the natural order. Therefore, to find a remedy we are bid to look away from the world, and to look "elsewhere." It is certain, therefore, that neither legislation, nor civilisation, nor any simply human influence or natural agency, can restore society which is sick with manifold diseases. The Holy Father tells us where to look. He says: "When a society is perishing, the true advice to give to those who would restore it, is to recall it to the purpose and principles from which it sprung." "So that to fall away from its primal constitution is disease; to go back to it is recovery." "If society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life, and the Christian Institutions." Therefore, "no practical solution of this question will ever be found without the assistance of religion and of the Church." God created the Church and the Church created the Christian world. For three centuries the world has been in revolt against the Church, and has thrown off the first principles from which it sprung; they are: faith, indissoluble matrimony, Christian education, obedience to the Head of the Christian world. The consequence of this revolt is schism, divorce, schools without religion, and the weakening of all moral laws. The natural society of man fell from its normal state into manifold corruptions. The merely human civilisation in its most refined state in Greece, and in its loftiest attainment in the Roman world, perished by its own suicidal corruptions. "There cannot be the shadow of doubt . . . that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity; that in the strength of that renewal the human race was lifted up to better things; nay, that it was brought back from death to life." "Of this beneficent transformation Jesus Christ was at once the first cause and the final purpose: as from Him all came, so to Him all was to be referred."

These sentences are full of meaning. They affirm:

1. That into the fallen and perverted society of men a new life and a new legislation entered which expelled the evils of human corruption and elevated society to a supernatural state; or, in other words, that the society and law of nature were not only restored to their first principles, but were elevated to a higher law and state. Human society was made perfect in the supernatural society that is in the Church. Separation therefore from the Church has deprived a great part of the Christian world of its supernatural perfection in life and constitution.

2. That the Christian law made perfect the natural law of justice and mercy, which may be enforced by human tribunals.

3. That it superadded the law of charity, the highest and most perfect law, which though it cannot be enforced by human tribunals has a Divine sanction to enforce it in the conscience of all men.

4. That without the teaching of Christianity the moral relations of human society become unsympathetic, hard, and selfish.

When, then, Leo XIII. says that the only remedy for the social evils of States is to be found in the Church, he means that "without God there is no society"; without a legislator human laws are powerless to restrain the selfish passions of men; and without charity all laws are cold, unpersuasive, and inefficacious. Justice alone without mercy is heartless, and mercy without charity is constrained and repulsive. Without the Church this higher moral law is not to be found. The condition of the labour world, or of the "labour market," as political economists have taught us to call it, is proof enough.

The Encyclical then points out two other explicit reasons why the action of the Church in its teaching, spirit, and sanction is of the highest moment to society, and especially to the millions of the world. The poor are the special charge of the Church. "God hath chosen the poor of this world." "Hearken, my beloved brethren, hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love Him." Every living soul is in His immediate care, the rich as well as the poor; there is no distinction of class or privilege with Him. Every soul, whether refined or rude, is in His keeping. But with an especial care He watches over those who "eat bread in the sweat of their brow." They are under the habitual penance of Adam in privation, toil, poverty, often in want, living in hardness, and bearing many sufferings. They live perpetually on the brink of want, in the midst of the vicissitudes of human fortune. None need the Paraclete, the

Consoler, more than they; and none need the sympathy of the Church as they do. "The Church has guarded with religious care the inheritance of the poor." "At the present day there are many who, like the heathen of old, condemn the Church for this beautiful charity." We are told that it demoralises the people. "They would substitute in its place a system of State-organised relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity."

Another reason is this. The creative power of the Church has in all ages formed for itself organised bodies, incorporating and fulfilling its manifold works of charity. A religious Order springs from the bosom of the Church, and is sustained by it. And as religious Orders have sprung up within it, so also have guilds, confraternities, sodalities, unions, both sacred and beneficial. Association and co-operation are of the spirit of brotherhood; and the greatest brotherhood in the world is the Church itself. Therefore the Church blesses and encourages every form of lawful and Christian association. It condemns secret societies as such, because they walk in darkness; but it sanctions the open uniting of men for a lawful object, such as mutual protection against those who make the largest profits out of the lowest wages, or intolerable hours of work, and the like. In a word, the Church recognises the liberty of the human will in all its lawful actions, individual and collective; and it encourages men to use that liberty for their self-defence, and for the defence and help of others.

But, finally, the Church alone deals not only with the bodily, but also with the spiritual life of man; and no people can be peaceful or contented with a life of labour who do not know, and hope for, an eternal rest. And it thereby teaches men, the poorest and the humblest, their true dignity. "No man may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats with reverence; nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation for the eternal life of heaven." It is certain that in the measure in which these truths pervade the mind of a people in that measure they are elevated, refined, and independent. In the measure in which they are lost a people becomes animal, gross and intractable, or, it may be, slavish. "To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right. He cannot give up his soul to servitude; for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God." "Therefore no man can contract to work so many hours and so many days a week as to render it impossible for him to live a Christian and a human life." From this follows the obligation of the cessation of work and labour on Sundays and certain festivals. From this also it follows that to work sixteen or eighteen hours a day is contrary both to natural

and to Christian law. It springs either from the recklessness of the employed, or the covetousness of the employer. This is a just condemnation of the state of many of our industries, under which till now our people have suffered in silence. But they are now bid to make their burdens and sufferings known.

3. The Encyclical then treats of the intervention of the State in matters of political economy. If a century of narrow and commercial mistreatment had not contracted the range and fullness of political economy to the "dismal science" of supply and demand, wage-funds and labour markets, the very title would have affirmed the duty of the State to intervene whensoever the welfare of the commonwealth in any part is at stake. All political economy contains financial and commercial economy, but neither commerce nor finance are co-extensive with political economy. Political economy watches indeed over the whole commercial and financial economy, but it watches over the welfare of all classes. Classes revolve round their own interests. It is in reaction from this organised selfishness that some men have recoiled into Socialism. The Encyclical having carefully defined Socialism, both name and thing, goes on to show how the legislation of human society must be essentially social. "It is in the power of a ruler to benefit every order of the State, and among the rest to promote in the highest degree the interests of the poor; . . . for it is the province of the commonwealth to consult for the common good, and the more that is done for the working population by the general laws of the country, the less need will there be to seek for particular means to relieve them." "The richer population have many ways of protecting themselves, and stand less in need of help from the State. Those who are badly off have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly rely upon the assistance of the State, and it is for this reason that wage-earners, who are undoubtedly among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth." It is to be doubted whether in any country of the Christian world these truths are better realised than in our own. Ever since the abolition of slavery in 1834, our legislation has entered more and more minutely into the social needs and sufferings of our people. Our poor-law incorporates the primary laws of nature, that a man has a right to live, and a right to the food necessary to sustain life, either by gift or by wage. But nobody dreams of calling the laws of Elizabeth socialistic. The mining and factory legislation protects millions of men, women, and children; the abolition of Corn Laws impoverished a class for the welfare of the people; a dozen laws protect children from noxious trades and the like; but no man till now has been blind enough to accuse our Statute-

book of Socialism. The State education of France, America, and Belgium are denounced as infidel, immoral, godless; but though they are the worst form of Socialism, nobody says or sees it. But if any man would protect the world of labour from the oppression of "free contracts," or "starvation wages," he is a Socialist. So obscure from want of thought, or so warped by interest, or so prejudiced by class feeling are the minds of men. Our legislation hitherto and the programme of the Berlin Conference are supremely conservative, social, and anti-socialistic.

4. The Encyclical comes lastly to the liberty, duties, and co-operation of workers. The treatment of this is paternal in its compassion, and minute in its detail. It shows both the heart and the head of the Good Shepherd. First, as to liberty. Work is the condition of bread. But in the choice of the kind of work, the master for whom, the wages for which a man shall work, all this rests with himself. The employer has the dead capital of gold and silver. The workman has the living capital of strength and skill. If strength and skill are unproductive without gold and silver, gold and silver are dead without strength and skill. A free and faithful contract between them is necessary for the productiveness of both. A man has a right and an absolute liberty to work for such wages as he thinks just; to refuse to work for less. Men have both right and liberty to unite with others of the same trade or craft, and to demand a just wage for their labour. If this just wage is refused, he has both right and liberty to refuse to work—that is, to strike. Leo XIII. fully recognises this liberty. So long as the cause is just, the right to strike is undeniable. He "is free to work or not."

But next arises the question, What is a just wage? The Encyclical has given a very explicit and definite answer. It is impossible to define the maximum. It is only necessary to define the minimum. The Encyclical says: "Let it be granted then, that, as a rule, workmen and employer should make free agreements, and in particular should freely agree as to wages; nevertheless there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort." This is immediately further explained as "sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife, and his children."

We have here the measure of the minimum wage. It must be sufficient to maintain a man and his home. This does not mean a variable measure, or a sliding scale according to the number of children, but a fixed average sum. "If through necessity or fear of worse evil the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better,

he is the victim of force and injustice." The foundation of this judgment is in the law of nature. It is clear that the normal state of man in the natural order is that every man should have and should dwell in his own home, surrounded by the duties and charities of life. If the civil population of the country were debarred from marriage, like the standing army, the face of the country would be visited with all the evils of a garrison town. Homeless men are reckless. There would be but little patriotism in a country where no man cares to stand *pro aris et focis*. The hearth-money of our forefathers was the sure pledge of their loyalty. The policy of the law—that is, its aim and spirit—is that homeless men be few, and that the homes of the people be the broad and solid foundation on which the commonwealth, in all its social and political life, shall repose. We may therefore take the maintenance of a home as the minimum of a just wage.

It follows, therefore, that an employer who should take single men without homes at lower wages would commit a social injustice, full of immoral and dangerous consequences to society.

Beyond this it is impossible to go. Every kind of industry and of labour, skilled and unskilled, in all the diversities of toil or danger, will have its special claims; but the lowest line is the worker and his home.

It is well to bear in mind that the oldest free contract between landowner and labourer is the *métayer* system, by which the annual produce of the soil is halved between the landlord and the producer. This still exists abroad. It bears witness to a law of proportion which is just, and it is a source of contentment and goodwill. Where there is no proportion, or no known proportion, between enormous and increasing profits and scanty and stationary wages, to be contented is to be superhuman. Leo XIII., without naming any one, warmly commends the works of those in France and elsewhere who are giving to their workmen a share in the profits and prosperity of their commerce and industry.

On the liberty of strike, Leo XIII. is equally explicit. "When workpeople have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labour are too long, or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient." "Such paralysis of labour not only affects the masters or their workpeople, but is extremely injurious to trade and to the general interests of the public." A strike is like war. If for just cause a strike is a right inevitable, it is a healthful constraint imposed upon the despotism of capital. It is the only power in the hands of working men. We have been for years blinded or dazed by the phrases of "free contract," "the independence of adult labour," "free labour," and the like. The meaning is this: Let working

men maintain their independence of one another, and of all associations, and of all unions, and of all united action, and of all intervention of law in their behalf. The more perfectly they are isolated, the more independent of all defenders, the more dependent they are on capitalists. Starving men may be locked out with impunity. The hunger of their wives, the cries of their children, their own want of food, will compel them to come in. It is evident that between a capitalist and a working man there can be no true freedom of contract. The capitalist is invulnerable in his wealth. The working man without bread has no choice but either to agree, or to hunger in his hungry home. For this cause "freedom of contract" has been the gospel of the employers. And they have resented hotly the intervention of any peacemaker. They have claimed that no one can come between them and their men; that their relation to them is a private, almost a domestic affair. They forget that when thousands of women and children suffer while they are refusing to grant a penny more in wages, or an hour less in work, there is a wide field of misery caused by their refusal, which prolongs a strike. It is then no private affair, but a public evil which excites the public condemnation. And more than this—a handful of miserable men harshly treated grows to a mob, and a mob soon grows to a multitude, and a multitude soon grows beyond its own control, and when batoned by police and angered by the ostentatious presence of soldiers, horse and foot, breaks into flight and scours the streets, wrecking, robbing, and looting, without aim or reason. Again, as more recently, for a month the streets of London were choked day by day with processions of tens of thousands. Disorder and horse-play, which at any moment may turn to collisions with the people or the police, were imminent; these were sharpened by disappointment, and irritated by refusal of an additional penny an hour. At any moment a drunkard, or a madman, or a fool might have set fire to the docks and warehouses. The commercial wealth of London and the merchandise of the world, the banks and wharves of the Thames might have been pillaged, and the conflagration might have spread for hours before order, at unimaginable loss, could be restored. And all this because a strike is "a matter between us and our men." They were reminded that there were two other parties interested besides masters and men, the multitude of suffering women and children, and the whole peaceful population of London. At a certain stage of such a conflict, either or both of these parties have a social, civil, and natural right to intervene to protect the public safety. Leo XIII. in such cases goes beyond the intervention of peacemakers in a voluntary effort to reconcile contending parties. He affirms that the State may intervene. "If," he says, "by a strike or other

combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace, or if circumstances were such that among the labouring population the ties of family life were relaxed" "finally, if health were endangered by excessive labour, or by work unsuited to sex or age, in these cases there can be no question that within certain limits it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law." So little does the Encyclical recognise the absolutism of employers, and so fully does it justify the action of Parliament in the Commission on Sweating, in the Committee on the Hours of Labour, and now in the Commission on Labour in all its relation to Capital. Leo XIII. gives to legislators a supreme counsel: "The laws should be *beforehand* and *prevent* these troubles from arising, they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which tend to conflicts between masters and those whom they employ."

This, as he especially urges, ought to be provided for by voluntary tribunals of arbitration, composed of employers and employed in their respective unions or associations; and when no such provisions of previous legislation exist, and Parliament is not assembled and danger is urgent, it is the right and the duty of every loyal man, who loves his country and his people, at any cost or danger to himself, to come between the parties in conflict, and to bring them, if he can, to peace.

The Encyclical, then, in few and sympathetic words treats of the employment of women and children. Of women it says: "They are not suited to certain trades: for a woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty, and to promote the good bringing-up of children and the well-being of the family." As we read these words, the chainmakers of Cradley Heath, the Pit-brow women of the mines, and the mothers in our factories rise before us. Here is a moral case to be solved. A woman enters for life into a sacred contract with a man before God at the altar, to fulfil to him the duties of wife, mother, and head of his home. Is it lawful for her, even with his consent, to make afterwards a second contract for so many shillings a week with a millowner, whereby she becomes unable to provide her husband's food, train up her children, or do the duties of her home? It is no question of the lawfulness of gaining a few more shillings for the expenses of a family, but of the lawfulness of breaking a prior contract the most solemn between man and woman. No arguments of expediency can be admitted. It is an obligation of conscience to which all things must give way. The duties of home must first be done, then other questions may be entertained. Till then, nothing. Some people seem to think that our statute law is of

high perfection, because it forbids mothers to return to work for three weeks or a month after childbirth. By a higher law, the law of nature, the whole care and time of the mother is due to the child; a mother's instincts ought to prevail over all lower motives. There can be no home where a mother does not nurture her own infant: and where there is no home, there is no domestic life; and where the domestic life of a people is undermined, their social and political life rests on sand. To this it will be answered: that without the mother's earnings the children would not be fed. To this there are many answers. The minimum of wages would suffice, if the relations of capital and labour were even just; much more, if generous. Already men have complained that employers prefer the cheaper work of women, and women are finding that employers prefer the cheaper work of children. It is the old formula of modern political economy, "sell in the dearest market, and buy in the cheapest." What is cheaper than the work of women and half-timers? A normal state of wage-earning would put back every wife into her home in the midst of her children.

Finally, the Encyclical speaks in few but comprehensive words of the labour of children. "In regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature. For just as rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so too early an experience of life's hard work blights the young promise of a child's powers, and makes any real education impossible." There is a tenderness and a wisdom in these words which make all comment needless. Indeed, they exhaust the subject. The condition of child-labour fifty years ago cannot now be conceived by those who have only seen the half-timers of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Children hardly out of infancy were then overcrowded in rooms, ill ventilated, the air of which became poisonous. They were set to picking cotton and other like materials, of which the filaments and the fluff affected the organs of respiration. Our Legislature very tardily and after long contention made such child-labour unlawful. Names of political history are to be found resisting every advance of this humane legislation. They prophesied the ruin of our manufactures if the labour of infants were forbidden, as men are prophesying now the downfall of our commerce if we save the half-timers from the premature toil which mars their education, exhausts their health, and checks the normal development of body and of brain. All the chief Powers of Europe, and many of the lesser States, agreed at Berlin to raise the minimum age for child-labour to twelve years. Many have done it: some have raised it to thirteen. We voted, and therefore pledged

our honour and our humanity to raise the minimum age to twelve. We have not done it. Our rulers have refused to do it. With a niggard will we are raising it after a year's delay to eleven. The words of Leo XIII. will sear us till we raise it at least to twelve.

Such then in outline is the teaching of Leo XIII. We have, at the risk of breaking the continuity of our narrative, given the very words of the Encyclical, arranging them in the main order of the subject-matter as to human society and its morbid parasite of Socialism; as to the Church, the supernatural Society, and the salvation of the political order of the world; as to the State in its relation to the world of labour; and finally, as to the workers, their liberty and their homes.

The Voice of the Good Shepherd has been heard by the flock spread throughout the world with a loving, thankful, and joyous assent. It has been heard by Sovereigns and statesmen, and men of every calling and of every measure of culture, with a respectful attention never before given to any Pontifical utterance. It has been heard by the millions of the world of labour, and they have recognised the accents of a Father's love and sympathy. In truth, the Encyclical, both in matter and in manner of treatment, comes home to the intelligence and heart of this day with the simplicity of a household word. Who does not know what labour is? And who is not a sharer in its interests or sympathies or sufferings? Now, there is only one person who represents two things which men think irreconcilable—power and poverty. The Vicar of our Lord, "Who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor,"—he only knows both and can speak to both as a partaker in both.

For a century the civil Powers in almost all the Christian world have been separating themselves from the Church, claiming, and glorying in their separation. They have set up the State as a purely lay and secular society, and thrust the Church from them. And now of a sudden they find that the millions of the world sympathise with the Church, which has compassion on the multitude rather than with the State or the plutocracy which has weighed so heavily upon them.

HENRY EDWARD, CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE CONDITION OF LABOUR.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS
ET EPISCOPIS UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS, GRATIAM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

RERUM novarum semel excitatâ cupidine, quae diu quidem commovet civitates, illud erat consecuturum ut commutationum studia a rationibus politicis in oeconomiarum cognatum genus aliquando defluerent.—Revera nova industriae incrementa novisque euntes itineribus artes: mutatae dominorum et mercenariorum rationes mutuae: divitiarum in exiguo numero affluentia, in multitudine inopia: opificum cum de se confidentia maior, tum inter se necessitudo coniunctor, praeterea versi in deteriora mores, effecere, ut certamen erumperet. In quo quanta rerum momenta vertantur, ex hoc apparet, quod animos habet acri expectatione suspensos: idemque ingenia exercet doctorum, concilia prudentum, conciones populi, legumlatorum iudicium, consilia principum, ut iam caussa nulla reperiatur tanta, quae teneat hominum studia vehementius.—Itaque, proposita Nobis Ecclesiae caussâ et salute communi, quod alias consuevimus, Venerabiles Fratres, datis ad vos Litteris de imperio politico, de libertate humana, de civitatum constitutione christiana, aliisque non dissimili genere, quae ad refutandas opinionum fallacias opportuna videbantur, idem nunc faciendum *de conditione opificum* iisdem de caussis duximus.—Genus hoc argumenti non semel iam per occasionem attigimus: in his tamen litteris totam data opera tractare quaestionem apostolici muneris conscientia monet, ut principia emineant, quorum ope, uti veritas atque aequitas postulant, dimicatio dirimatur. Caussa est ad expediendum difficilis, nec vacua periculo. Arduum siquidem metiri iura et officia, quibus locupletes et proletarios, eos qui rem, et eos qui operam conferant, inter se oportet contineri. Periculosa vero contentio, quippe quae ab hominibus turbulentis et callidis ad pervertendum iudicium veri concitandamque seditiose multitudinem passim detorquetur. Utcumque sit, plane videmus, quod consentiunt universi, infimae sortis hominibus celeriter esse atque opportune consulendum, cum pars maxima in misera calamitosaque fortuna indigne versentur. Nam veteribus artificum collegiis superiore saeculo deletis, nulloque in eorum locum suffecto praesidio, cum ipsa instituta legesque publicae avitam religionem exuissent, sensim factum est ut opifices inhumanitati dominorum effrenataeque competitorum cupiditati solitarios atque indefensos tempus tradiderit.—Malum auxit usura vorax, quae non

semel Ecclesiae iudicio damnata, tamen ab hominibus avidis et quaestuosis per aliam speciem exercetur eadem: huc accedunt et conductio operum et rerum omnium commercia fere in paucorum redacta potestatem, ita ut opulenti ac praedivites perpauci prope servile iugum infinitae proletariorum multitudini imposuerint.

Ad huius sanationem mali *Socialistae* quidem, sollicitatâ egentium in locupletes invidiâ, evertere privatas bonorum possessiones contendunt oportere, earumque loco communia universis singulorum bona facere, procurantibus viris qui aut municipio praesint, aut totam rempublicam gerant. Eiusmodi tralatione bonorum a privatis ad commune, mederi se posse praesenti malo arbitrantur, res et commoda inter cives aequaliter partiendo. Sed est adeo eorum ratio ad contentionem dirimendam inepta, ut ipsum opificum genus afficiat incommodo: eademque praeterea est valde iniusta, quia vim possessoribus legitimis affert, pervertit officia reipublicae, penitusque miscet civitates.

Sane, quod facile est pervidere, ipsius operae, quam suscipiunt qui in arte aliqua quaestuosa versantur, haec per se caussa est, atque hic finis quo proxime spectat artifex, rem sibi quaerere privatoque iure possidere uti suam ac propriam. Is enim si vires, si industriam suam alteri commodat, hanc ob causam commodat ut res adipiscatur ad victum cultumque necessarias: ideoque ex opera data ius verum perfectumque sibi quaerit non modo exigendae mercedis, sed et collocandae uti velit. Ergo si tenuitate sumptuum quicquam ipse comparsit, fructumque parsimoniae suae, quo tutior esse custodia possit, in praedio collocavit, profecto praedium istiusmodi nihil est aliud, quam merces ipsa aliam induta speciem: proptereaque coemptus sic opifici fundus tam est in eius potestate futurus, quam parta labore merces. Sed in hoc plane, ut facile intelligitur, rerum dominium vel moventium vel solidarum consistit. In eo igitur quod bona privatorum transferre *Socialistae* ad commune nituntur, omnium mercenariorum faciunt conditionem deteriore, quippe quos, collocandae mercedis libertate sublata, hoc ipso augendae rei familiaris utilitatumque sibi comparandarum spe et facultate despoliant.

Verum, quod maius est, remedium proponunt cum iustitia aperte pugnans, quia possidere res privatim ut suas, ius est homini a natura datum.—Revera hac etiam in re maxime inter hominem et genus interest animantium ceterarum. Non enim se ipsae regunt belluae, sed reguntur gubernanturque duplici naturae instinctu: qui tum custodiunt experrectam in eis facultatem agendi, viresque opportune evolvunt, tum etiam singulos earum motus exsuscitant iidem et determinant. Altero instinctu ad se vitamque tuendam, altero ad conservationem generis ducuntur sui. Utrumque vero commode assequuntur earum rerum usu quae adsunt, quaeque praesentes sunt: nec sane progredi longius possent, quia solo sensu moventur rebusque singularibus sensu perceptis. Longe alia hominis natura. Inest in eo tota simul ac perfecta vis naturae animantis, ideoque tributum ex hac parte homini est, certe non minus quam generi animantium omni, ut rerum corporearum fruatur bonis. Sed natura animans quantumvis cumulate possessa, tantum abest ut naturam circumscribat humanam,

ut multo sit humanâ naturâ inferior, et ad parendum huic obediendumque nata. Quod eminet atque excellit in nobis, quod homini tribuit ut homo sit, et a belluis differat genere toto, mens seu ratio est. Et ob hanc causam quod solum hoc animal est rationis particeps, bona homini tribuere necesse est non utenda solum, quod est omnium animantium commune, sed stabili perpetuoque iure possidenda, neque ea dumtaxat quae usu consumuntur, sed etiam quae, nobis utentibus, permanent.

Quod magis etiam apparet, si hominum in se natura altius spectetur.—Homo enim cum innumerabilia ratione comprehendat, rebusque praesentibus adiungat atque annectat futuras, cumque actionum suarum sit ipse dominus, propterea sub lege aeterna, sub potestate omnia providentissime gubernantis Dei, se ipse gubernat providentia consilii sui: quamobrem in eius est potestate res eligere quas ad consulendum sibi non modo in praesens, sed etiam in reliquum tempus, maxime iudicet idoneas. Ex quo consequitur, ut in homine esse non modo terrenorum fructuum, sed ipsius terrae dominatum oporteat, quia e terrae fetu sibi res suppeditari videt ad futurum tempus necessarias. Habent cuiusque hominis necessitates velut perpetuos redditus, ita ut hodie expletae, in crastinum nova imperent. Igitur rem quamdam debet homini natura dedisse stabilem perpetuoque mansuram, unde perennitas subsidii expectari posset. Atque istiusmodi perennitatem nulla res praestare, nisi cum ubertatibus suis terra, potest.

Neque est, cur providentia introducatur reipublicae: est enim homo, quam respublica, senior: quocirca ius ille suum ad vitam corpusque tuendum habere naturâ ante debuit quam civitas ulla coisset.—Quod vero terram Deus universo generi hominum utendam, fruendam dederit, id quidem non potest ullo pacto privatis possessionibus obesse. Deus enim generi hominum donavisse terram in commune dicitur, non quod eius promiscuum apud omnes dominatum voluerit, sed quia partem nullam cuique assignavit possidendam, industriae hominum institutisque populorum permissâ privatarum possessionum descriptione.—Ceterum utcumque inter privatos distributa, inservire communi omnium utilitati terra non cessat, quoniam nemo est mortalium, quin alatur eo, quod agri efferunt. Qui re carent, supplent operâ: ita ut vere affirmari possit, universam comparandi victus cultusque rationem in labore consistere, quem quis vel in fundo insumat suo, vel in arte aliqua operosa, cuius merces tandem non aliunde, quam a multiplici terrae fetu ducitur, cum eoque permutatur.

Qua ex re rursus efficitur, privatas possessiones plane esse secundum naturam. Res enim eas, quae ad conservandam vitam maximeque ad perficiendam requiruntur, terra quidem cum magna largitate fundit, sed fundere ex se sine hominum cultu et curatione non posset. Iamvero cum in parandis naturae bonis industriam mentis viresque corporis homo insumat, hoc ipso applicat ad sese eam naturae corporeae partem, quam ipse percoluit, in qua velut formam quamdam personae suae impressam reliquit; ut omnino rectum esse oporteat, eam partem

ab eo possideri uti suam, nec ullo modo ius ipsius violare cuiquam licere.

Horum tam perspicua vis est argumentorum, ut mirabile videatur, dissentire quosdam exoletarum opinionum restitutores: qui usum quidem soli, variosque praediorum fructus homini privato concedunt: at possideri ab eo ut domino vel solum, in quo aedificavit, vel praedium quod excoluit, plane ius esse negant. Quod cum negant, fraudatum iri partis suo labore rebus hominem, non vident. Ager quippe cultoris manu atque arte subactus habitum longe mutat: e silvestri frugifer, ex infecundo ferax efficitur. Quibus autem rebus est melior factus, illae sic solo inhaerent miscenturque penitus, ut maximam partem nullo pacto sint separabiles a solo. Atqui id quemquam potiri illoque perfrui, in quo alius desudavit, utrumne iustitia patiatur? Quo modo effectae res caussam sequuntur a qua effectae sunt, sic operae fructum ad eos ipsos qui operam dederint, rectum est pertinere. Merito igitur universitas generis humani, dissentientibus paucorum opinionibus nihil admodum mota, studioseque naturam intuens, in ipsius lege naturae fundamentum reperit partitionis bonorum, possessionesque privatas, ut quae cum hominum natura pacatoque et tranquillo convictu maxime congruant, omnium saeculorum usu consecravit.—Leges autem civiles, quae, cum iustae sunt, virtutem suam ab ipsa naturali lege ducunt, id ius, de quo loquimur, confirmant ac vi etiam adhibenda tuentur.—Idem divinarum legum sanxit auctoritas, quae vel appetere alienum gravissime vetant. *Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui: non domum, non agrum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, et universa quae illius sunt.**

Iura vero istiusmodi, quae in hominibus insunt singulis, multo validiora intelliguntur esse si cum officiis hominum in convictu domestico apta et connexa spectentur.—In deligendo genere vitae non est dubium, quin in potestate sit arbitrioque singulorum alterutrum malle, aut Iesu Christi sectari de virginitate consilium, aut maritali se vincolo obligare. Ius coniugii naturale ac primigenum homini adimere, caussamve nuptiarum praecipuam, Dei auctoritate initio constitutam, quoquo modo circumscribere lex hominum nulla potest. *Crescite et multiplicamini.*† En igitur familia, seu societas domestica, perparva illa quidem, sed vera societas, eademque omni civitate antiquior; cui propterea sua quaedam iura officiaque esse necesse est, quae minime pendeant a republica. Quod igitur demonstravimus, ius domini personis singularibus natura tributum, id transferri in hominem, quae caput est familiae, oportet: immo tanto ius est illud validius, quanto persona humana in convictu domestico plura complectitur. Sanctissima naturae lex est, ut victu omniique cultu paterfamilias tueatur, quos ipse procreavit: idemque illuc a natura ipsa deducitur, ut velit liberis suis, quippe qui paternam referunt et quodam modo producunt personam, anquirere et parare, unde se honeste possint in ancipiti vitae cursu a misera fortuna defendere. Id vero efficere non alia ratione potest, nisi fructuosarum possessione rerum, quas ad liberos hereditate trans-

* Deut. v. 21.

† Gen. i. 28.

mittat.—Quemadmodum civitas, eodem modo familia, ut memoremus, veri nominis societas est, qua potestate propria, hoc est paterna, regitur. Quamobrem, servatis utique finibus quos proxima eius caussa praescripserit, in deligendis adhibendisque rebus incolumitati ac iustae libertati suae necessariis, familia quidem paria saltem cum societate civili iura obtinet. Paria saltem diximus, quia cum convictus domesticus et cogitatione sit et re prior, quam civilis coniunctio, priora quoque esse magisque naturalia iura eius officiaque consequitur. Quod si cives, si familiae, convictus humani societatisque participes factae, pro adiumento offensionem, pro tutela diminutionem iuris sui in republica reperirent, fastidienda citius, quam optanda societas esset.

Velle igitur ut pervadat civile imperium arbitrato suo usque ad intima domorum, magnus ac perniciosus est error.—Certe si qua forte familia in summa rerum difficultate consilii inopia versetur, ut inde se ipsa expedire nullo pacto possit, rectum est subveniri publice rebus extremis: sunt enim familiae pari quaedam civitatis. Ac pari modo sicubi intra domesticos parietes gravis extiterit perturbatio iurium mutuum, suum cuique ius potestas publica vindicato: neque enim hoc est ad se rapere iura civium, sed munire atque firmare iustam debitamque tutelam. Hic tamen consistant necesse est, qui praesint rebus publicis: hos excedere fines natura non patitur. Patria potestas est eiusmodi, ut nec extingui, neque absorberi a republica possit, quia idem et commune habet cum ipsa hominum vita principium. *Filii sunt aliquid patris*, et velut paternae amplificatio quaedam personae: proprieque loqui si volumus, non ipsi per se, sed per communitatem domesticam, in qua generati sunt, civilem inveniunt ac participant societatem. Atque hac ipsa de caussa, quod filii sunt *naturaliter aliquid patris antequam usum liberi arbitrii habeant, continentur sub parentum cura*.^{*} Quod igitur *Socialistae*, posthabita providentia parentum, introducunt providentiam reipublicae, faciunt *contra iustitiam naturalem*, ac domorum compagem dissolvunt.

Ac praeter iniustitiam, nimis etiam apparet qualis esset omnium ordinum commutatio perturbatioque, quam dura et odiosa servitus civium consecutura. Aditus ad invidentiam mutuum, ad obtrectationes et discordias patefieret: ademptis ingenio singulorum sollertiaeque stimulis, ipsi divitiarum fontes necessario exarescerent: eaque, quam fingunt cogitatione, aequabilitas, aliud revera non esset nisi omnium hominum aequae misera atque ignobilis, nullo discrimine, conditio.—Ex quibus omnibus perspicitur, illud *Socialismi* placitum de possessionibus in commune redigendis omnino repudiari oportere, quia iis ipsis, quibus est opitulandum, nocet; naturalibus singulorum iuribus repugnat, officia reipublicae tranquillitatemque communem perturbat. Maneat ergo, cum plebi sublevatio quaeritur, hoc in primis haberi fundamenti instar oportere, privatas possessiones inviolate servandas. Quo posito, remedium, quod exquiritur, unde petendum sit, explicabimus.

* S. Thom. II-II. Quaest. x. art. xii.

Confidenter ad argumentum aggredimur ac plane iure Nostro, propterea quod caussa agitur ea, cuius exitus probabilis quidem nullus, nisi advocatâ religione Ecclesiaeque, reperietur. Cum vero et religionis custodia, et earum rerum, quae in Ecclesiae potestate sunt, penes Nos potissimum dispensatio sit, neglexisse officium taciturnitate videremur. —Profecto aliorum quoque operam et contentionem tanta haec caussa desiderat: principum reipublicae intelligimus, dominorum ac locupletium, denique ipsorum, pro quibus contentio est, proletariorum: illud tamen sine dubitatione affirmamus, inania conata hominum futura, Ecclesiâ posthabita. Videlicet Ecclesia est, quae promittit ex Evangelio doctrinas, quarum virtute aut plane componi certamen potest, aut certe fieri, detracta asperitate, mollius: eademque est, quae non instruere mentem tantummodo, sed regere vitam et mores singulorum praeceptis suis contendit: quae statum ipsum proletariorum ad meliora promovet pluribus utilissime institutis: quae vult atque expetit omnium ordinum consilia viresque in id consociari, ut opificum rationibus, quam commodissime potest, consulatur: ad eamque rem adhiberi leges ipsas auctoritatemque reipublicae, utique ratione ac modo, putat oportere.

Illud itaque statuatur primo loco, ferendam esse conditionem humanam: ima summis paria fieri in civili societate non posse. Agitant id quidem *Socialistae*: sed omnis est contra rerum naturam vana contentio. Sunt enim in hominibus maximae plurimaeque naturâ dissimilitudines: non omnium paria ingenia sunt, non sollertia, non valetudo, non vires: quarum rerum necessarium discrimen sua sponte sequitur fortuna dispar. Idque plane ad usus cum privatorum tum communitatis accommodata; indiget enim varia ad res gerendas facultate diversisque munerebus vita communis; ad quae fungenda munera potissimum impelluntur homines differentiâ rei cuiusque familiaris.—Et ad corporis laborem quod attinet, in ipso statu innocentiae non iners omnino erat homo futurus: at vero quod ad animi delectationem tunc libere optavisset voluntas, idem postea in expiationem culpae subire non sine molestiae sensu coegit necessitas. *Maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae.**—Similique modo finis acerbitatum reliquarum in terris nullus est futurus, quia mala peccati consecutaria aspera ad tolerandum sunt, dura, difficilia: eaque homini usque ad ultimum vitae comitari est necesse. Itaque pati et perpeti humanum est, et ut homines experiantur ac tentent omnia, istiusmodi incommoda evellere ab humano convictu penitus nulla vi, nullo arte poterunt. Siqui id se profiteantur posse, si miserae plebi vitam polliceantur omni dolore molestiaeque vacantem, et refertam quiete ac perpetuis voluptatibus, nae illi populo imponunt, fraudemque struunt, in mala aliquando erupturam maiora praesentibus. Optimum factu res humanas, ut se habent, ita contueri, simulque opportunum incommodis levamentum, uti diximus, aliunde petere.

Est illud in caussa, de qua dicimus, capitale malum, opinione fingere

* Gen. iii. 17.

alterum ordinem sua sponte infensum alteri, quasi locupletes e proletarios ad digladiandum inter se pertinaci duello natura comparaverit. Quod adeo a ratione abhorret et a veritate, ut contra verissimum sit, quo modo in corpore diversa inter se membra conveniunt, unde illud existit temperamentum habitudinis, quam symmetriam recte dixeris, eodem modo naturam in civitate praecepisse ut geminae illae classes congruant inter se concorditer, sibi que convenienter ad aequilibratam respondeant. Omnino altera alterius indiget: non res sine operâ, nec sine re potest opera consistere. Concordia gignit pulcritudinem rerum atque ordinem: contra ex perpetuitate certaminis oriatur necesse est cum agresti immanitate confusio. Nunc vero ad dirimendum certamen, ipsasque eius radices amputandas, mira vis est institutorum christianorum, eaque multiplex.—Ac primum tota disciplina religionis, cuius est interpres et custos Ecclesia, magnopere potest locupletes et proletarios componere invicem et coniungere, scilicet utroque ordine ad officia mutua revocando, in primisque ad ea quae a iustitia ducuntur. Quibus ex officiis illa proletarium atque opificem attingunt; quod libere et cum aequitate pactum operae sit, id integre et fideliter reddere: non rei ullo modo nocere, non personam violare dominorum: in ipsis tuendis rationibus suis abstinere a vi, nec seditionem induere unquam: nec commisceri cum hominibus flagitiosis, immodicas spes et promissa ingentia artificiose iactantibus, quod fere habet poenitentiam inutilem et fortunarum ruinas consequentes.—Ista vero ad divites spectant ac dominos: non habendos mancipiorum loco opifices: vereri in eis aequum esse dignitatem personae, utique nobilitatam ab eo, character christianus qui dicitur. Quaestuosas artes, si naturae ratio, si christiana philosophia audiatur, non pudori homini esse, sed decori quia vitae sustentandae praebent honestam potestatem. Illud vere turpe et inhumanum, abuti hominibus pro rebus ad quaestum, nec facere eos pluris, quam quantum nervis polleant viribusque. Similiter praecipitur, religionis et bonorum animi haberi rationem in proletariis oportere. Quare dominorum partes esse, efficere ut idoneo temporis spatio pietati vacet opifex: non hominem dare obvium lenociniis corruptelarum illecebrisque peccandi: neque ullo pacto a cura domestica parsimoniaeque studio abducere. Item non plus imponere operis, quam vires ferre queant, nec id genus, quod cum aetate sexuque dissideat. In maximis autem officiis dominorum illud eminet, iusta unicuique praebera. Profecto ut mercedis statuatur ex aequitate modus, caussae sunt considerandae plures: sed generatim locupletes atque heri meminerint, premere emolumentum sui caussa indigentes ac miseros, alienâque ex inopia captare quaestum, non divina, non humana iura sinere. Fraudare vero quemquam mercede debita grande piaculum est, quod iras e caelo ultrices clamore devocat. *Ecce merces operariorum . . . quae fraudata est a vobis, clamat: et clamor eorum in aures Domini Sabaoth introvit.** Postremo religiose cavendum locupletibus ne proletariorum compendiis quicquam noceant nec vi, nec dolo, nec fenebris artibus: idque eo vel magis quod non satis

* Lac. v. 4.

illi sunt contra iniurias atque impotentiam muniti, eorumque res, quo exilior, hoc sanctior habenda.

His obtemperatio legibus nonne posset vim caussasque dissidii vel sola restinguere?—Sed Ecclesia tamen, Iesu Christo magistro et duce, persequitur maiora: videlicet perfectius quiddam praecipiendo, illuc spectat, ut alterum ordinem vicinitate proxima amicitiaque alteri coniungat.—Intelligere atque aestimare mortalia ex veritate non possumus, nisi dispexerit animus vitam alteram eamque immortalem: qua quidem dempta, continuo forma ac vera notio honesti interiret: immo tota haec rerum universitas in arcanum abiret nulli hominum investigationi pervium. Igitur, quod naturâ ipsa admonente didicimus, idem dogma est christianum, quo ratio et constitutio tota religionis tamquam fundamento principe nititur, cum ex hac vita excesserimus, tum vere nos esse victuros. Neque enim Deus hominem ad haec fragilia et caduca, sed ad caelestia atque aeterna generavit, terramque nobis ut exulandi locum, non ut sedem habitandi dedit. Divitiis ceterisque rebus, quae appellantur bona, affluas, careas, ad aeternam beatitudinem nihil interest: quemadmodum utare, id vero maxime interest. Acerbitates varias, quibus vita mortalis fere contextitur, Iesus Christus *copiosa redemptione* sua nequaquam sustulit, sed in virtutum incitamenta, materiaeque bene merendi traduxit: ita plane ut nemo mortalium queat praemia sempiterna capessere, nisi cruentis Iesu Christi vestigiis ingrediatur. *Si sustinebimus, et conregnabimus.** Laboribus ille et cruciatibus sponte susceptis, cruciatuum et laborum mirifice vim delenivit: nec solum exemplo, sed gratia sua perpetuaeque mercedis spe proposita, perpersionem dolorum effecit faciliorem: *id enim, quod in praesenti est momentaneum et leve tribulationis nostrae, supra modum in sublimitate aeternum gloriae pondus operatur in caelis.†*

Itaque fortunati monentur, non vacuitatem doloris afferre, nec ad felicitatem aevi sempiterni quicquam prodesse divitias, sed potius obesse: † terrori locupletibus esse debere Iesu Christi insuetas minas: § rationem de usu fortunarum Deo iudici severissime aliquando reddendam. De ipsis opibus utendis excellens ac maximi momenti doctrina est, quam si philosophia incohatam, at Ecclesia tradidit perfectam plane, eademque efficit ut non cognitione tantum, sed moribus teneatur. Cuius doctrinae in eo est fundamentum positum, quod iusta possessio pecuniarum a iusto pecuniarum usu distinguitur. Bona privatim possidere, quod paulo ante vidimus, ius est homini naturale: eoque uti iure, maxime in societate vitae, non fas modo est, sed plane necessarium. *Licetum est, quod homo propria possideat. Et est etiam necessarium ad humanam vitam.||* At vero si illud quaeratur, qualem esse usum bonorum necesse sit, Ecclesia quidem sine ulla dubitatione respondet: *quantum ad hoc, non debet homo habere res exteriores ut proprias, sed ut communes, ut scilicet de facili aliquis eas communicet in necessitate aliorum. Unde Apostolus dicit: divitibus huius saeculi praecipe . . . facile tribuere, communicare.¶* Nemo certe opitulari

* II ad Tim. ii. 12.

† II Cor. iv. 17.

‡ Matt. xix. 23, 24.

§ Luc. vi. 24, 25.

|| II-II Quaest. lxvi. a. ii.

¶ II-II Quaest. lxv. a. ii.

aliis de eo iubetur, quod ad usus pertineat cum suorum necessarios: immo nec tradere aliis quo ipse egeat ad id servandum quod personae conveniat, quodque deceat: *nullus enim inconvenienter vivere debet.** Sed ubi necessitati satis et decoro datum, officium est de eo quod superat gratificari indigentibus. *Quod superest, date eleemosinam.†* Non iustitiae, excepto in rebus extremis, officia ista sunt, sed caritatis christianae, quam profecto lege agendo petere ius non est. Sed legibus iudiciisque hominum lex antecedit iudiciumque Christi Dei, qui multis modis suadet consuetudinem largiendi; *beatius est magis dare, quam accipere:‡* et collatam negatamve pauperibus beneficentiam perinde est ac sibi collatam negatamve iudicaturus. *Quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis.§* Quarum rerum haec summa est; quicumque maiorem copiam bonorum Dei munere accepit, sive corporis et externa sint, sive animi, ob hanc caussam accepisse, ut ad perfectionem sui pariterque, velut minister providentiae divinae, ad utilitates adhibeat ceterorum. *Habens ergo talentum, curet omnino ne taceat: habens rerum affluentiam, rigilet ne a misericordiae largitate torpescat: habens artem qua regitur, magnopere studeat ut usum atque utilitatem illius cum proximo partiatur.||*

Bonis autem fortunae qui careant, ii ab Ecclesia perdocentur, non probro haberi, Deo iudice, paupertatem, nec eo pudendum, quod victus labore quaeratur. Idque confirmavit re et facto Christus Dominus, qui pro salute hominum *egenus factus est, cum esset dives: ¶* cumque esset filius Dei ac Deus ipsemet, videri tamen ac putari fabri filius voluit: quin etiam magnam vitae partem in opere fabrilis consumere non recusavit. *Nonne hic est faber, filius Mariae? *** Huius divinitatem exempli intuentibus, ea facilius intelliguntur: veram hominis dignitatem atque excellentiam in moribus esse, hoc est in virtute, positam: virtutem vero commune mortalibus patrimonium, imis et summis, divitibus et proletariis aequae parabile: nec aliud quippiam quam virtutes et merita, in quocumque reperiantur, mercedem beatitudinis aeternae sequuturam. Immo vero in calamitosorum genus propensior Dei ipsius videtur voluntas: beatos enim Iesus Christus nuncupat pauperes: †† invitat peramanter ad se, solatii caussa, quicumque in labore sint ac luctu: ‡‡ infimos et iniuria vexatos complectitur caritate praecipua. Quarum cognitione rerum facile in fortunatis deprimitur tumens animus, in aerumnosis demissus extollitur: alteri ad facilitatem, alteri ad modestiam flectuntur. Sic cupitum superbiae intervallum efficitur brevius, nec difficulter impetrabitur ut ordinis utriusque, iunctis amice dextris, copulentur voluntates.

Quos tamen, si christianis praeceptis paruerint, parum est amicitia, amor etiam fraternus inter se coniugabit. Sentient enim et intelligent, omnes plane homines a communi parente Deo procreatos: omnes ad

* II-II Quaest. xxxii. a. vi.

§ Matt. xxv. 40.

¶ II Cor. viii. 9.

†† Matt. v. 3: *Beati pauperes spiritu.*

‡‡ Matt. xi. 28: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.*

† Luc. xi. 41.

‡ Actor. xx. 35.

|| S. Greg. Magn. in Evang. *Hom. ix. n. 7,*

** Marc. vi. 3.

eumdem finem bonorum tendere, qui Deus est ipse, qui afficere beatitudine perfecta atque absoluta et homines et Angelos unus potest: singulos item pariter esse Iesu Christi beneficio redemptos et in dignitatem filiorum Dei vindicatos, ut plane necessitudine fraterna cum inter se tum etiam cum Christo Domino, *primogenito in multis fratribus*, contineantur. Item naturae bona, munera gratiae divinae pertinere communiter et promiscue ad genus hominum universum, nec quemquam, nisi indignum, bonorum caelestium fieri exheredem. *Si autem filii, et heredes: heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi.**

Talis est forma officiorum ac iurium, quam christiana philosophia profitetur. Nonne quieturum perbrevis tempore certamen omne videatur, ubi illa in civili convictu valeret?

Denique nec satis habet Ecclesia viam inveniendae curationis ostendere, sed admovet sua manu medicinam. Nam tota in eo est ut ad disciplinam doctrinamque suam excolat homines atque instituat: cuius doctrinae saluberrimos rivos, Episcoporum et Cleri operâ, quam latissime potest, curat deducendos. Deinde pervadere in animos nititur flectereque voluntates, ut divinorum disciplina praeceptorum regi se gubernarique patiantur. Atque in hac parte, quæ princeps est ac permagni momenti, quia summa utilitatum caussaque tota in ipsa consistit, Ecclesia quidem una potest maxime. Quibus enim instrumentis ad permovendos animos utitur, ea sibi hanc ipsam ob causam tradita a Iesu Christo sunt, virtutemque habent divinitus insitam. Istiusmodi instrumenta sola sunt, quae cordis attingere penetrales sinus apte queant, hominemque adducere ut obedientem se praebeat officio, motus animi appetentis regat, Deum et proximos caritate diligat singulari ac summa, omniaque animose perrumpat, quae virtutis impediunt cursum.—Satis est in hoc genere exempla veterum paulisper cogitatione repetere. Res et facta commemoramus, quae dubitationem nullam habent: scilicet civilem hominum communitatem funditus esse institutis christianis renovatam: huiusce virtute renovationis ad meliora promotum genus humanum, immo revocatum ab interitu ad vitam, auctumque perfectione tanta, ut nec extiterit ulla antea, nec sit in omnes consequentes aetates futura maior. Denique Iesum Christum horum esse beneficiorum principium eumdem et finem: ut ab eo profecta, sic ad eum omnia referenda. Nimirum accepta Evangelii luce, cum incarnationis Verbi hominumque redemptionis grande mysterium orbis terrarum didicisset, vita Iesu Christi Dei et hominis pervasit civitates, eiusque fide et praeceptis et legibus totas imbuat. Quare si societati generis humani medendum est, revocatio vitae institutorumque christianorum sola medebitur. De societatibus enim dilabentibus illud rectissime praecipitur, revocari ad origines suas, cum restitui volunt, oportere. Haec enim omnium consociationum perfectio est, de eo laborare idque assequi, cuius gratia institutae sunt: ita ut motus actusque sociales eadem caussa pariat, quae peperit societatem. Quamobrem declinare ab instituto, corruptio est: ad institutum redire, sanatio. Verissimeque id quemadmodum de toto reipublicae

* Rom. viii. 17.

corpore, eodem modo de illo ordine civium dicimus, qui vitam sustentant opere, quae est longe maxima multitudo.

Nec tamen putandum, in colendis animis totas esse Ecclesiae curas ita defixas, ut ea negligat quae ad vitam pertinent mortalem ac terrenam.—De proletariis nominatim vult et contendit ut emergant e miserrimo statu fortunamque meliorem adipiscantur. Atque in id confert hoc ipso operam non mediocrem, quod vocat et instituit homines ad virtutem. Mores enim christiani, ubi servantur integri, partem aliquam prosperitatis sua sponte pariunt rebus externis, quia conciliant principium ac fontem omnium bonorum Deum : coercent geminas vitae pestes, quae nimium saepe hominem efficiunt in ipsa opum abundantia miserum, rerum appetentiam nimiam et voluptatum sitim :^{*} contenti denique cultu victuque frugi, vectigal parsimonia suppleant, procul a vitiis, quae non modo exiguas pecunias, sed maximas etiam copias exhauriunt, et lauta patrimonia dissipant. Sed praeterea, ut bene habeant proletarii, recta providet, instituendis fovendisque rebus, quas ad sublevandum eorum inopiam intelligat conducibiles. Quin in hoc etiam genere beneficiorum ita semper excelluit, ut ab ipsis inimicis praedicatione efferatur. Ea vis erat apud vetustissimos christianos caritatis mutuae, ut persaepe sua se re privarent, opitulandi caussâ divitiores : quamobrem *neque . . . quisquam egens erat inter illos.*[†] Diaconis, in id nominatim ordine instituto, datum ab Apostolis negotium, ut quotidianae beneficentiae exercerent munia : ac Paulus Apostolos, etsi sollicitudine districtus omnium Ecclesiarum, nihilominus dare se in laboriosa itinera non dubitavit, quo ad tenuiores christianos stipem praesens afferret. Cuius generis pecunias, a christianis in unoquoque conventu ultro collatas, *deposita pietatis* nuncupat Tertullianus, quod scilicet insumerentur *egenis alendis humanisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, inque domesticis senibus, item naufragis.*[‡]—Hinc sensim illud extitit patrimonium, quod religiosâ curâ tamquam rem familiarem indigentium Ecclesia custodivit. Immo vero subsidia miserae plebi, remissâ rogandi verecundiâ, comparavit. Nam et locupletium et indigentium communis parens, excitatâ ubique ad excellentem magnitudinem caritate, collegia condidit sodalium religiosorum, aliaque utiliter permulta instituit, quibus opem ferentibus, genus miseriarum prope nullum esset, quod solatio carerit. Hodie quidem multi, quod eodem modo fecere olim ethnici, ad arguendam transgrediuntur Ecclesiam huius etiam tam egregiae caritatis : cuius in locum subrogare visum est constitutam legibus publicis beneficentiam. Sed quae christianam caritatem suppleant, totam se ad alienas porrigentem utilitates, artes humanae nullae reperiuntur. Ecclesiae solius est illa virtus, quia nisi a sacratissimo Iesu Christi corde ducitur, nulla est uspiam : vagatur autem a Christo longius, quicumque ab Ecclesia discesserit.

At vero non potest esse dubium quin, ad id quod est propositum, ea

^{*} *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*, 1 Tim. vi. 10.

[†] Act. iv. 34.

[‡] Apol. II. xxxix.

quoque, quae in hominum potestate sunt, adiumenta requirantur. Omnino omnes, ad quos caussa pertinet, eodem intendant idemque laborent pro rata parte necesse est. Quod habet quamdam cum moderatrice mundi providentia similitudinem: fere enim videmus rerum exitus a quibus caussis pendent, ex earum omnium conspiratione procedere.

Iamvero quota pars remedii a republica expectanda sit praestat exquirere.—Rempublicam hoc loco intelligimus non quali populus utitur unus vel alter, sed qualem et vult recta ratio naturae congruens, et probant divinae documenta sapientiae, quae Nos ipsi nominatim in litteris Encyclicis de civitatum constitutione christiana explicavimus. Itaque per quos civitas regitur, primum conferre operam generatim atque universe debent totâ ratione legum atque institutorum, scilicet efficiendo ut ex ipsa conformatione atque administratione reipublicae ultre prosperitas tam communis quam privatorum efflorescat. Id est enim civilis prudentiae munus, propriumque eorum, qui praesunt, officium. Nunc vero illa maxime efficiunt prosperas civitates, morum probitas, recte atque ordine constitutae familiae, custodia religionis ac iustitiae, onerum publicorum cum moderata irrogatio, tum aequa partitio, incrementa artium et mercaturae, florens agrorum cultura, et si qua sunt alia generis eiusdem, quae quo maiore studio provehantur, eo melius sunt victuri cives et beatius.—Harum igitur virtute rerum in potestate rectorum civitatis est, ut ceteris prodesse ordinibus, sic et proletariorum conditionem iuvare plurimum: idque iure suo optimo, neque ulla cum importunitatis suspicione: debet enim respublica ex lege muneris sui in commune consulere. Quo autem commodorum copia provenierit ex hac generali providentia maior, eo minus oportebit alias ad opificum salutem experiri vias.

Sed illud praeterea considerandum, quod rem altius attingit, unam civitatis esse rationem, communem summorum atque infimorum. Sunt nimirum proletarii pari iure cum locupletibus naturâ cives, hoc est partes verae vitaeque viventes, unde constat, interiectis familiis, corpus reipublicae: ut ne illud adiungatur, in omni urbe eos esse numero longe maximo. Cum igitur illud sit perabsurdum, parti civium consulere, partem negligere, consequitur, in salute commodisque ordinis proletariorum tuendis curas debitas collocari publice oportere: ni fiat, violatum iri iustitiam, suum cuique tribuere praecipientem. Quâ de re sapienter S. Thomas: *sicut pars et totum quodammodo sunt idem, ita id, quod est totius, quodammodo est partis*.* Proinde in officiis non paucis neque levibus populo bene consulentium principum, illud in primis eminet, ut unumquemque civium ordinem aequabiliter tueantur, eâ nimirum, quae *distributiva* appellatur, iustitiâ inviolate servandâ.

Quamvis autem cives universos, nemine excepto, conferre aliquid in summam bonorum communium necesse sit, quorum aliqua pars virilis sponte recidit in singulos, tamen idem et ex aequo conferre nequaquam possunt. Qualescunque sint in imperii generibus vicissitudines, perpetua futura sunt ea in civium statu discrimina, sine quibus nec

esse, nec cogitari societas ulla posset. Omnino necesse est quosdam reperiri, qui se reipublicae dedant, qui leges condant, qui ius dicant, denique quorum consilio atque auctoritate negotia urbana, res bellicae administrentur. Quorum virorum priores esse partes, eosque habendos in omni populo primarios, nemo non videt, propterea quod communi bono dant operam proxime atque excellenti ratione. Contra vero qui in arte aliqua exercentur, non eâ, qua illi, ratione nec iisdem muneribus prosunt civitati: sed tamen plurimum et ipsi, quamquam minus directe, utilitati publicae inserviunt. Sane sociale bonum cum debeat esse eiusmodi, ut homines eius fiant adeptione meliores, est profecto in virtute praecipue collocandum. Nihilominus ad bene constitutam civitatem suppeditatio quoque pertinet bonorum corporis atque exteriorum, *quorum usus est necessarius ad actum virtutis*.* Iamvero his pariendis bonis est proletariorum maxime efficax ac necessarius labor, sive in agris artem atque manum, sive in officinis exercent. Immo eorum in hoc genere vis est atque efficientia tanta, ut illud verissimum sit, non aliunde quam ex opificum labore gigni divitias civitatum. Iubet igitur aequitas, curam de proletario publice geri, ut ex eo, quod in communem affert utilitatem, percipiat ipse aliquid, ut tectus, ut vestitus, ut salvus vitam tolerare minus aegre possit. Unde consequitur, favendum rebus omnibus esse quae conditioni opificum quoquo modo videantur profuturæ. Quae cura tantum abest ut noceat cuiquam, ut potius profutura sit universis, quia non esse omnibus modis eos miseros, a quibus tam necessaria bona proficiscuntur, prorsus interest reipublicae.

Non civem, ut diximus, non familiam absorberi a republica rectum est: suam utrique facultatem agendi cum libertate permittere aequum est, quantum incolumi bono communi et sine cuiusquam iniuria potest. Nihilominus eis, qui imperant, videndum ut communitatem eiusque partes tueantur. Communitatem quidem, quippe quam summae potestati conservandam natura commisit usque eo, ut publicae custodia salutis non modo suprema lex sed tota causa sit ratioque principatus: partes vero, quia procurationem reipublicae non ad utilitatem eorum, quibus commissæ est, sed ad eorum, qui commissi sunt, naturâ pertinere, philosophia pariter et fides christiana consentiunt. Cumque imperandi facultas proficiscatur a Deo, eiusque sit communicatio quaedam summi principatus, gerenda ad exemplar est potestatis divinae, non minus rebus singulis quam universis cura paterna consulentis. Si quid igitur detrimenti allatum sit aut impendeat rebus communibus, aut singulorum ordinum rationibus, quod sanari aut prohiberi alia ratione non possit, obviam iri auctoritate publica necesse est.—Atqui interest salutis cum publicæ, tum privatae pacatas esse res et compositas: item dirigi ad Dei iussa naturaeque principia omnem convictus domestici disciplinam: observari et coli religionem: florere privatim ac publice mores integros: sanctam retineri iustitiam, nec alteros ab alteris impune violari: validos adolescere cives, iuvandae tutandaeque, si res postulet, civitati idoneos. Quamobrem si quando

* S. Thom., De reg. Princip. I. c. xv.

fiat, ut quippiam barbarum impendeat ob secessionem opificum, aut intermissas ex composito operas : ut naturalia familiae nexa apud proletarios relaxentur : ut religio in opificibus violetur non satis impertiendo commodi ad officia pietatis : si periculum in officinis integritati morum ingruat a sexu promiscuo, aliisve perniciosis invitamentis peccandi : aut opificum ordinem herilis ordo iniquis premat oneribus, vel alienis a persona ac dignitate humana conditionibus affligat : si valetudini noceatur opere immodico, nec ad sexum aetatemve accommodato, his in caussis plane adhibenda, certos intra fines, vis et auctoritas legum. Quos fines eadem, quae legum poscit opem, caussa determinat : videlicet non plura suscipienda legibus, nec ultra progrediendum, quam incommodorum sanatio, vel periculi depulsio requirat.

Iura quidem, in quocumque sint, sancte servanda sunt : atque ut suum singuli teneant, debet potestas publica providere, propulsandis atque ulciscendis iniuriis. Nisi quod in ipsis protegendis privatorum iuribus, praecipue est infimorum atque inopum habenda ratio. Siquidem natio divitum, suis septa praesidiis, minus eget tutelâ publicâ : miserum vulgus, nullis opibus suis tutum, in patrocinio reipublicae maxime nititur. Quocirca mercenarios, cum in multitudine egena numerentur, debet curâ providentiâque singulari complecti respública.

Sed quaedam maioris momenti praestat nominatim perstringere.— Caput autem est, imperio ac munimento legum tutari privatas possessiones oportere. Potissimumque, in tanto iam cupiditatum ardore, continenda in officio plebs : nam si ad meliora contendere concessum est non repugnante iustitia, at alteri, quod suum est, detrahere, ac per speciem absurdae cuiusdam aequabilitatis in fortunas alienas involare, iustitia vetat, nec ipsa communis utilitatis ratio sinit. Utique pars opificum longe maxima res meliores honesto labore comparare sine cuiusquam iniuria malunt : verumtamen non pauci numerantur pravis imbuti opinionibus rerumque novarum cupidi, qui id agunt omni ratione ut turbas moveant, ac ceteros ad vim impellant. Intersit igitur reipublicae auctoritas, iniectoque concitatoribus freno, ab opificum moribus corruptrices artes, a legitimis dominis periculum rapinarum coerceat.

Longinquior vel operosior labos, atque opinatio curtae mercedis caussam non raro dant artificibus quamobrem opere se solvant ex composito, otioque dedant voluntario. Cui quidem incommodo usitato et gravi medendum publice, quia genus istud cessationis non heros dumtaxat, atque opifices ipsos afficit damno, sed mercaturis obest reique publicae utilitatibus : cumque haud procul esse a vi turbisque soleat, saepenumero tranquillitatem publicam in discrimen adducit. Qua in re illud magis efficax ac salubre, antevertere auctoritate legum, malumque ne erumpere possit prohibere, amotis mature caussis, unde dominorum atque operariorum conflictus videatur extiturus.

Similique modo plura sunt in opifice, praesidio munienda reipublicae : ac primum animi bona. Siquidem vita mortalis quantumvis bona et optabilis, non ipsa tamen illud est ultimum, ad quod nati sumus : sed via tantummodo atque instrumentum ad animi vitam perspicientia veri et amore boni complendam. Animus est, qui expressam

gerit imaginem similitudinemque divinam, et in quo principatus ille residet, per quem dominari iussus est homo in inferiores naturas, atque efficere utilitati suae terras omnes et maria parentia. *Replete terram et subiicite eam: et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et universis animantibus, quae moventur super terram.** Sunt omnes homines hac in re pares, nec quippiam est quod inter divites atque inopes, inter dominos et famulos inter principes privatosque differat: *nam idem dominus omnium.*† Nemini licet hominis dignitatem, de qua Deus ipse disponit *cum magna reverentia*, impune violare, neque ad eam perfectionem impedire cursum, qua sit vitae in caelis sempiternae consentanea. Quin etiam in hoc genere tractari se non convenienter naturae suae, animique servitutem servire velle, ne sua quidem sponte homo potest: neque enim de iuribus agitur, de quibus sit integrum homini, verum de officiis adversus Deum, quae necesse est sancte servari.—Hinc consequitur requies operum et laborum per festos dies necessaria. Id tamen nemo intelligat de maiore quadam inertis otii usura, multoque minus de cessatione, qualem multi expetunt, faultrice vitiorum et ad effusiones pecuniarum adiutrice, sed omnino de requiete operum per religionem consecrata. Coniuncta cum religione quies sevocat hominem a laboribus negotiisque vitae quotidianae ut ad cogitanda revocet bona caelestia,tribuendumque cultum numini aeterno iustum ac debitum. Haec maxime natura atque haec causa quietis est in dies festos capiendae: quod Deus et in Testamento veteri praecipua lege sanxit: *memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices*; ‡ et facto ipse suo docuit, arcana requiete, statim posteaquam fabricatus hominem erat, sumptâ: *requievit die septimo ab universo opere quod patrarat.*§

Quod ad tutelam bonorum corporis et externorum, primum omnium eripere miseros opifices e saevitia oportet hominum cupidorum, personis pro rebus ad quaestum intemperanter abutentium. Scilicet tantum exigi operis, ut hebescat animus labore nimio, unâque corpus defatigationi succumbat, non iustitia, non humanitas patitur. In homine, sicut omnis natura sua, ita et vis efficiens certis est circumscripta finibus, extra quos egredi non potest. Acuitur illa quidem exercitatione atque usu, sed hac tamen lege ut agere intermittat identidem et acquiescat. De quotidiano igitur opere videndum ne in plures extrahatur horas, quam vires sinant. Intervalla vero quiescendi quanta esse oporteat, ex vario genere operis, ex adiunctis temporum et locorum, ex ipsa opificum valetudine iudicandum. Quorum est opus lapidem e terra excindere, aut ferrum, aes, aliaque id genus effodere penitus abdita, eorum labor, quia multo maior est idemque valetudini gravis, cum brevitate temporis est compensandus. Anni quoque dispicienda tempora: quia non raro idem operae genus alio tempore facile est ad tolerandum, alio aut tolerari nulla ratione potest, aut sine summa difficultate non potest.—Denique quod facere enitique vir adulta aetate beneque validus potest, id a femina puerove non est aequum postulare. Immo de pueris valde cavendum, ne prius officina

* Gen. i. 28.

† Exod. xx. 8.

‡ Rom. x. 12.

§ Gen. ii. 2.

capiat, quam corpus, ingenium, animum satis firmaverit aetas. Erumpentes enim in pueritia vires, velut herbescentem viriditatem, agitatio praecox elidit: qua ex re omnis est institutio puerilis interitura. Sic certa quaedam artificia minus apte conveniunt in feminas ad opera domestica natas: quae quidem opera et tumentur magnopere in muliebri genere decus, et liberorum institutioni prosperitatique familiae naturâ respondent. Universe autem statuatur, tantum esse opificibus tribuendum otii, quantum cum viribus compensetur labore consumptis; quia detritas usu vires debet cessatio restituere. In omni obligatione, quae dominis atque artificibus invicem contrahatur, haec semper aut adscripta aut tacita conditio inest, utrique generi quiescendi ut cautum sit: neque enim honestum esset convenire secus, quia nec postulare cuiquam fas est nec spondere neglectum officiorum, quae vel Deo vel sibimetipsi hominem obstringunt.

Rem hoc loco attingimus sat magni momenti: quae recte intelligatur necesse est, in alterutram partem ne peccetur. Videlicet salarii definitur libero consensu modus: itaque dominus rei, pacta mercede persoluta, liberavisse fidem, nec ultra debere quidquam videatur. Tunc solum fieri iniuste, si vel pretium dominus solidum, vel obligatas artifex operas reddere totas recusaret: his caussis rectum esse potestatem politicam intercedere, ut suum cuique ius incolume sit, sed praeterea nullis.—Cui argumentationi aequus rerum index non facile, neque in totum assentiatur, quia non est absoluta omnibus partibus: momentum quoddam rationis abest maximi ponderis. Hoc est enim operari, exercere se rerum comparadarum caussâ, quae sint ad varios vitae usus, potissimumque ad tuitionem sui necessariae. *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane.** Itaque duas velut notas habet in homine labor naturâ insitas, nimirum ut *personalis* sit, quia vis agens adhaeret personae, atque eius omnino est propria, a quo exercetur, et cuius est utilitati nata: deinde ut sit *necessarius*, ob hanc caussam, quod fructus laborum est homini opus ad vitam tuendam: vitam autem tueri ipsa rerum cui maxime parendum, natura iubet. Iamvero si ex ea dumtaxat parte spectetur quod personalis est, non est dubium quin integrum opifici sit pactae mercedis angustius finire modum: quemadmodum enim operas dat ille voluntate, sic et operarum mercede vel tenui vel plane nulla contentus esse voluntate potest. Sed longe aliter iudicandum si cum ratione *personalitatis* ratio coniungitur *necessitatis*, cogitatione quidem non re ab illa separabilis. Reapse manere in vita, commune singulis officium est, cui scelus est deesse. Hinc ius reperendarum rerum quibus vita sustentatur, necessario nascitur: quarum rerum facultatem infimo cuique non nisi quaesita labore merces suppeditat. Esto igitur, ut opifex atque herus libere in idem placitum, ac nominatim in salarii modum consentiant: subest tamen semper aliquid ex iustitia naturali, idque libera paciscentium voluntate maius et antiquius, scilicet alendo opifici, frugi quidem et bene morato, haud imparem esse mercedem oportere. Quod si necessitate opifex coactus, aut mali peioris metu permotus duriores con-

* Gen. iii. 19.

ditionem accipiat, quae, etiamsi nolit, accipienda sit, quod a domino vel a redemptore operum imponitur, istud quidem est subire vim, cui iustitia reclamât.—Verumtamen in his similibusque caussis, quales illae sunt in unoquoque genere artificii quotâ sit elaborandum horâ, quibus praesidiis valetudini maxime in officinis cavendum, ne magistratus inferat sese importunius, praesertim cum adiuncta tam varia sint rerum, temporum, locorum, satius erit eas res iudicio reservare collegiorum, de quibus infra dicturi sumus, aut aliam inire viam, quae rationes mercenariorum, uti par est, salvae sint, accedente, si res postulaverit, tutela praesidioque reipublicae.

Mercedem si ferat opifex satis amplam ut ea se uxoremque et liberos tueri commodum queat, facile studebit parsimoniae, si sapit, efficietque quod ipsa videtur natura monere, ut detractis sumptibus, aliquid etiam redundet, quo sibi liceat ad modicum censum pervenire. Neque enim efficaci ratione dirimi caussam, de qua agitur, posse vidimus, nisi hoc sumpto et constituto, ius privatorum bonorum sanctum esse oportere. Quamobrem favere huic iuri leges debent, et, quoad potest, providere ut quamplurimi ex multitudine rem habere malint. Quo facto, praeclarae utilitates consecuturae sunt: ac primum certe aequior partitio bonorum. Vis enim commutationum civilium in duas civium classes divisit urbes, immenso inter utramque discrimine interiecto. Ex una parte factio praepotens, quia praedives: quae cum operum et mercaturae universum genus sola potiatur, facultatem omnem copiarum effectricem ad sua commoda ac rationes trahit, atque in ipsa administratione reipublicae non parum potest. Ex altera inops atque infirma multitudo, exulcerato animo et ad turbas semper parato. Iamvero si plebis excitetur industria in spem adipiscendi quippiam, quod solo contineatur, sensim fiet ut alter ordo evadat finitimus alteri, sublato inter summas divitias summamque egestatem discrimine.—Praeterea rerum, quas terra gignit, maior est abundantia futura. Homines enim, cum se elaborare sciunt in suo, alacritatem adhibent studiumque longe maius: immo prorsus adamare terram instituunt sua manu percultam, unde non alimenta tantum, sed etiam quamdam copiam et sibi et suis expectant. Ista voluntatis alacritas, nemo non videt quam valde conferat ad ubertatem fructuum, augendasque divitias civitatis.—Ex quo illud tertio loco manabit commodi, ut qua in civitate homines editi susceptique in lucem sint, ad eam facile retineantur: neque enim patriam cum externa regione commutarent, si vitae degendae tolerabilem daret patria facultatem. Non tamen ad haec commoda perveniri nisi ea conditione potest, ut privatus census ne exhauriatur immanitate tributorum et vectigalium. Ius enim possidendi privatim bona cum non sit lege hominum sed natura datum, non ipsum abolere, sed tantummodo ipsius usum temperare et cum communi bono componere auctoritas publica potest. Faciat igitur iniuste atque inhumane, si de bonis privatorum plus aequo, tributorum nomine, detraxerit.

Postremo domini ipsique opifices multum hac in caussa possunt, iis videlicet institutis, quorum ope et opportune subveniatur indigentibus, et ordo alter propius accedat ad alterum. Numeranda in hoc genere sodalitia ad suppetias mutuo ferendas: res varias, privatorum provi-

dentia constitutas, ad cavendum opifici, itemque orbitati uxoris et liberorum, si quid subitum ingruat, si debilitas affligerit, si quid humanitus accidat: instituti patronatus pueris, puellis, adolescentibus natuque maioribus tutandis. Sed principem locum obtinent sodalitia artificum, quorum complexu fere cetera continentur. Fabrum corporatorum apud maiores nostros diu bene facta constitere. Revera non modo utilitates praeclaras artificibus, sed artibus ipsis, quod perplura monumenta testantur, decus atque incrementum peperere. Eruditior nunc aetate, moribus novis, auctis etiam rebus quas vita quotidiana desiderat, profecto sodalitia opificum flecti ad praesentem usum necesse est. Vulgo coiri eius generis societates, sive totas ex opificibus conflatas, sive ex utroque ordine mixtas, gratum est: optandum vero ut numero et actiosa virtute crescant. Etsi vero de iis non semel verba fecimus, placet tamen hoc loco ostendere, eas esse valde opportunas, et iure suo coalescere: item qua illas disciplina uti, et quid agere oporteat.

Virium suarum explorata exiguitas impellit hominem atque hortatur, ut opem sibi alienam velit adiungere. Sacrarum litterarum est illa sententia: *melius est duos esse simul, quam unum: habent enim emolumentum societatis suae. Si unus ceciderit, ab altero fulciatur. Vae soli: quia cum ceciderit, non habet sublerantem se.** Atque illa quoque: *frater, qui adiuvatur a fratre, quasi civitas firma.†* Hac homo propensione naturali sicut ad coniunctionem ducitur congregationemque civilem, sic et alias cum civibus inire societates expetit, exiguas illas quidem nec perfectas, sed societates tamen. Inter has et magnam illam societatem ob differentes causas proximas interest plurimum. Finis enim societati civili propositus pertinet ad universos, quoniam communi continetur bono: cuius omnes et singulos pro portione compotes esse ius est. Quare appellatur *publica* quia per eam *homines sibi invicem communicant in una republica constituenda.‡* Contra vero, quae in eius velut sinu iunguntur societates, privatae habentur et sunt, quia videlicet illud, quo proxime spectant, privata utilitas est, ad solos pertinens consociatos. *Privata autem societas est, quae ad aliquod negotium privatum exercendum coniungitur, sicut quod duo vel tres societatem inuent, ut simul negotientur.§* Nunc vero quamquam societates privatae existunt in civitate, eiusque sunt velut partes totidem, tamen universe ac per se non est in potestate reipublicae ne existant prohibere. Privatas enim societates inire concessum est homini iure naturae: est autem ad praesidium iuris naturalis instituta civitas, non ad interitum: eaque si civium coetus sociari vetuerit, plane secum pugnantia agat, propterea quod tam ipsa quam coetus privati uno hoc e principio nascuntur, quod homines sunt natura congregabiles.—Incidunt aliquando tempora cum ei generi communitatum rectum sit leges obsistere: scilicet si quidquam ex instituto persequantur, quod cum probitate, cum iustitia cum reipublicae salute aperte dissideat. Quibus in causis iure quidem potestas publica, quo minus illae coalescant, impedit: iure etiam dissolvit coalitas: summam tamen adhibeat cautionem necesse est, ne iura civium

* Eccl. iv. 9-12.

† Prov. xviii. 19.

‡ S. Thom.: *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, cap. ii.

§ *Ibid.*

migrare videatur, neu quidquam per speciem utilitatis publicae statuatur, quod ratio non probet. Eatenus enim obtemperandum legibus, quoad cum recta ratione adeoque cum lege Dei sempiterna consentiant.*

Sodalitates varias hic reputamus animo et collegia et ordines religiosos, quos Ecclesiae auctoritas et pia christianorum voluntas genuerant: quanta vero cum salute gentis humanae, usque ad nostram memoriam historia loquitur. Societates eiusmodi, si ratio sola diiudicet, cum initae honestâ caussâ sint, iure naturali initas apparet fuisse. Qua vero parte religionem attingunt, sola est Ecclesia cui iuste pareant. Non igitur in eas quicquam sibi arrogare iuris, nec earum ad se traducere administrationem recte possunt qui praesint civitati: eas potius officium est reipublicae vereri, conservare, et, ubi res postulaverint, iniuriâ prohibere. Quod tamen longe aliter fieri hoc praesertim tempore vidimus. Multis locis communitates huius generis respública violavit, ac multiplici quidem iniuria: cum et civilium legum nexu devinxerit, et legitimo iure personae moralis exuerit, et fortunis suis despoliarit. Quibus in fortunis suum habebat Ecclesia ius, suum singuli sodales, item qui eas certae cuidam caussae addixerant, et quorum essent commodo ac solatio addictae. Quamobrem temperare animo non possumus quin spoliationes eiusmodi tam iniustas ac perniciosas conqueramur, eo vel magis quod societatibus catholicorum virorum, pacatis iis quidem et in omnes partes utilibus, iter praecludi videmus, quo tempore edicitur, utique coire in societatem per leges licere: eaque facultas large revera hominibus permittitur consilia agitantibus religioni simul ac reipublicae perniciosa.

Profecto consociationum diversissimarum, maxime ex opificibus, longe nunc maior, quam alias frequentia. Plures unde ortum ducant, quid velint, qua grassentur via, non est huius loci quaerere. Opinio tamen est, multis confirmata rebus, praeesse ut plurimum occultiores auctores, eosdemque disciplinam adhibere non christiano nomini, non salutis civitatum consentaneam: occupataque efficiendorum operum universitate, id agere ut qui secum consociari recusarint, luere poenas egestate cogantur.—Hoc rerum statu, alterutrum malint artifices christiani oportet, aut nomen collegiis dare, unde periculum religioni extimescendum: aut sua inter se sodalitia condere, viresque hoc pacto coniungere, quo se animose queant ab illa iniusta ac non ferenda oppressione redimere. Omnino optari hoc alterum necesse esse, quam potest dubitationem apud eos habere, qui nolint summum hominis bonum in praesentissimum discrimen conicere?

Valde quidem laudandi complures ex nostris, qui probe perspecto quid a se tempora postulent, experiuntur ac tentant qua ratione proletarios ad meliora adducere honestis artibus possint. Quorum patrocínio suscepto, prosperitatem augere cum domesticam tum singulorum student: item moderari cum aequitate vincula, quibus invicem artifices et domini continentur: alere et confirmare in utrisque

* *Lex humana in tantum habet rationem legis, in quantum est secundum rationem rectam, et secundum hoc manifestum est quod a lege aeterna derivatur. In quantum vero a ratione recedit, sic dicitur lex iniqua, et sic non habet rationem legis, sed magis violentiae cuiusdam* (S. Thom., Summ. Theol. I-II, Quaest. xiii, a. iii).

memoriam officii atque evangelicorum custodiam praeceptorum; quae quidem praecepta, hominem ab intemperantia revocando, excedere modum vetant, personarumque et rerum dissimillimo statu harmoniam in civitate tuentur. Hac de caussa unum in locum saepe convenire videmus viros egregios, quo cummuniceant consilia invicem, viresque iungant, et quid maxime expedire videatur, consultant. Alii varium genus artificum opportuna copulare societate student, consilio ac re utantur, opus ne desit honestum ac fructuosum, provident. Alacritatem addunt ac patrocinium impertiunt Episcopi: quorum auctoritate auspiciisque plures ex utroque ordine Cleri, quae ad excolendum animum pertinent, in consociatis sedulo curant. Denique catholici non desunt copiosis divitiis, sed mercenariorum velut consortes voluntarii, qui constituere lateque fundere grandi pecunia consociationes admittuntur: quibus adiuvantibus facile opifici liceat non modo comoda praesentia, sed etiam honestae quietis futurae fiduciam sibi labore quaerere. Tam multiplex tamque alacris industria quantum attulerit rebus communibus boni plus est cognitum, quam ut attineat dicere. Hinc iam bene de reliquo tempore sperandi auspicia sumimus, modo societates istiusmodi constanter incrementa capiant, ac prudenti temperatione constituentur. Tutetur hos respublica civium coetus, iure sociatos: ne tradat tamen sese in eorum intimam rationem ordinemque vitae: vitalis enim motus cietur ab interiore principio, ac facillime sane pulsus eliditur externo.

Est profecto temperatio ac disciplina prudens ad eam rem necessaria, ut consensus in agendo fiat conspiratioque voluntatum. Proinde si libera civibus coeundi facultas est, ut profecto est, ius quoque esse oportet eam libere optare disciplinam easque leges, quae maxime conducere ad id, quod propositum est, iudicentur. Eam, quae memorata est temperationem disciplinamque collegiorum qualem esse in partibus suis singulis oporteat, decerni certis definitisque regulis non censemus posse, cum id potius statuendum sit ex ingenio cuiusque gentis, ex periclitatione et usu, ex genere atque efficientia operum, ex amplitudine commerciorum, aliisque rerum ac temporum adiunctis, quae sunt prudenter ponderanda. Ad summam rem quod spectat, haec tamquam ex generalis ac perpetua sanciantur, ita constitui itaque gubernari opificum collegia oportere, ut instrumenta suppedient aptissima maximeque expedita ad id, quod est propositum, quodque in eo consistit ut singuli e societate incrementum bonorum corporis, animi, rei familiaris, quoad potest, assequantur. Perspicuum vero est, ad perfectionem pietatis et morum tamquam ad causam praecipuam spectari oportere: eaque potissimum causâ disciplinam socialem penitus dirigendam. Secus enim degenerarent in aliam formam, quae generi collegiorum, in quibus nulla ratio religionis haberi solet, laud sane multum praestarent. Ceterum quid prosit opifici rerum opiam societate quaessisse, si ob inopiam cibi sui de salute periclitetur anima? *Quid prodest homini, si mundum univ[er]sum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur?** Hanc quidem docet Christus Dominus velut notam habendam, qua ab ethnico distinguatur homo

* Matt. xvi. 26.

*christianus: haec omnia gentes inquirunt . . . quaerite primum regnum Dei, et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adiicientur vobis.** Sumptis igitur a Deo principiis, plurimum eruditioni religiosae tribuatur loci, ut sua singuli adversus Deum officia cognoscant: quid credere oporteat, quid sperare atque agere salutis sempiternae caussâ, probe sciant: curâque praecipuâ adversus opinionum errores variasque corruptelas muniantur. Ad Dei cultum studiumque pietatis excitetur opifex, nominatim ad religionem dierum festorum colendam. Vereri diligereque communem omnium parentem Ecclesiam condiscat: itemque eius et obtemperare praeceptis et sacramenta frequentare, quae sunt ad expiandas animi labes sanctitatemque comparandam instrumenta divina.

Socialium legum posito in religione fundamento, primum est iter ad stabiliendas sociorum rationes mutuas, ut convictus quietus ac res florentes consequantur. Munia sodalitatum dispartienda sunt ad communes rationes accomodate, atque ita quidem ut consensum ne minuat dissimilitudo. Officia partiri intelligenter, perspicueque definiri, plurimum ob hanc caussam interest, ne cui fiat iniuria. Commune administretur integre, ut ex indigentia singulorum praefiniatur opitulandi modus: iure officiaque dominorum cum iuribus officiisque opificum apte conveniant. Si qui ex alterutro ordine violatum se ulla re putarit, nihil optandum magis, quam adesse eiusdem corporis viros prudentes atque integros, quorum arbitrio litem dirimi leges ipsae sociales iubeant. Illud quoque magnopere providendum ut copia operis nullo tempore deficiat opificem, utque vectigal suppeditet, unde necessitati singulorum subveniatur nec solum in subitis ac fortuitis industriae casibus, sed etiam cum valetudo, aut senectus, aut infortunium quemquam oppressit.—His legibus, si modo voluntate accipiantur, satis erit tenuiorum commodis ac saluti consultum: consociationes autem catholicorum non minimum ad prosperitatem momenti in civitate sunt habiturae. Ex eventis praeteritis non temere providemus futura. Truditur enim aetas aetate, sed rerum gestarum mirae sunt similitudines, quia reguntur providentia Dei, qui continuationem seriemque rerum ad eam caussam moderatur ac flectit, quam sibi in procreatione generis humani praestituit.—Christianis in prisca Ecclesiae adolescentis aetate probro datum accepimus, quod maxima pars stipe precaria aut opere faciendo victitarent. Sed destituti ab opibus potentiaque, pervicere tamen ut gratiam sibi locupletium, ac patrociniū potentium adiungerent. Cernere licebat impigros, laboriosos, pacificos, iustitiae maximeque caritatis in exemplum retinentes. Ad eiusmodi vitae morumque spectaculum, evanuit omnis praeiudicata opinio, obtrectatio obmutuit malevolorum, atque inveteratae superstitionis commenta veritati christianae paullatim cessere.—De statu opificum certatur in praesens: quae certatio ratione dirimatur an secus, plurimum interest reipublicae in utramque partem. Ratione autem facile dirimetur ab artificibus christianis, si societate coniuncti ac prudentibus auctoribus usi, viam inierint eandem, quam patres ac maiores singulari cum salute et sua et publica tenuerunt. Etenim quantumvis magna in homine vis opinionum praeiudicarum cupiditatumque sit, tamen nisi sensum honesti prava voluntas obstupescerit,

* Matt. vi. 32, 33.

futura est benevolentia civium in eos sponte propensior, quos industrios ac modestos cognoverint, quos aequitatem lucro, religionem officii rebus omnibus constiterit anteponere. Ex quo illud etiam consequetur commodi, quod spes et facultas sanitatis non minima suppediabitur opificibus iis, qui vel omnino despecta fide christiana, vel alienis a professione moribus vivant. Isti quidem se plerumque intelligunt falsa spe simulataque rerum specie deceptos. Sentiant enim, sese apud cupidos dominos valde inhumane tractari, nec fieri fere pluris quam quantum pariant operando lucri: quibus autem sodalitatibus implicati sunt, in iis pro caritate atque amore intestinas discordias existere, petulantis atque incredulae paupertatis perpetuas comites. Fracto animo, extenuato corpore, quam valde se multi vellent e servitute tam humili vindicare: nec tamen audent, seu quod hominum pudor, seu metus inopiae prohibeat. Iamvero his omnibus virum quantum prodesse ad salutem collegia catholicorum possunt, si haesitantes ad sinum suum, expediendis difficultatibus, invitarint, si resipiscentes in fidem tutelamque suam acceperint.

Habetis, Venerabiles Fratres, quos et qua ratione elaborare in causa perdifficili necesse sit.—Accingendum ad suas cuique partes, et maturrime quidem, ne tantae iam molis incommodum fiat insanabilius cunctatione medicinae. Adhibeant legum institutorumque providentiam, qui gerunt respublicas: sua meminerint officia locupletes et domini: enitantur ratione, quorum res agitur, proletarii: cumque religio, ut initio diximus, malum pellere funditus sola possit, illud reputent universi, in primis instaurari mores christianos oportere, sine quibus ea ipsa arma prudentiae, quae maxime putantur idonea, parum sunt ad salutem valitura.—Ad Ecclesiam quod spectat, desiderari operam suam nullo tempore nulloque modo sinet, tanto plus allatura adiumenti, quanto sibi maior in agendo libertas contigerit: idque nominatim intelligant, quorum munus est saluti publicae consulere. Intendant omnes animi industriaque vires ministri sacrorum: vobisque, Venerabiles Fratres, auctoritate praeceuntibus et exemplo, sumpta ex evangelio documenta vitae hominibus ex omni ordine inculcare ne desinant: omni qua possunt ope pro salute populorum contendant, potissimumque studeant et tueri in se, et excitare in aliis, summis iuxta atque infimis, omnium dominam ac reginam virtutum, caritatem. Optata quippe salus expectanda praecipue est ex magna effusione caritatis: christianae caritatis intelligimus, quae totius Evangelii compendiarium lex est, quaeque semetipsam pro aliorum commodis semper devovere parata, contra saeculi insolentiam atque immoderatum amorem sui certissima est homini antidotus: cuius virtutis partes ac lineamenta divina Paulus Apostolus iis verbis expressit: *Caritas patiens est, benigna est: non quaerit quae sua sunt: omnia suffert: omnia sustinet.**

Divinorum munerum auspicem ac benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis singulis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque vestro apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xv Maii An. mdcccxcxi, Pontificatus Nostri Decimoquarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

The Vatican Observatory.—The definitive establishment of an astronomical and physical observatory under the immediate control of the Roman Pontiffs is of high significance as regards the relations of the Catholic Church to secular science. For it embodies, according to the express declaration of His Holiness Leo XIII. in his recent brief upon the subject, a formal and perpetual protest against the oft-repeated calumny that those relations have been, are, or must be, of a hostile character. Truth cannot contradict truth; what is above need not be against nature; to fear the advance of true knowledge would be to distrust the Word of God. The Church, then, favours all legitimate inquiries, and blesses every effort calculated to promote the true intellectual dignity of man. Astronomy, above all, she takes under her protection, not alone because it supplies data indispensable for fixing the ecclesiastical calendar, but for the sake of its intrinsic grandeur as being concerned with the “stars, which,” in the words of the Papal Brief, “more than any other inanimate objects, recount the glory of God.”

The Vatican Observatory henceforth takes rank as a permanent institution, the future support of which has been provided for by the generosity of Leo XIII., while his wise discernment has selected its immediate tasks. Two distinct edifices shelter the instruments available for their execution. The first is the Gregorian Tower, erected by Gregory XIII. in the Vatican Palace itself, for objects connected with the Reform of the Calendar. Refitted and restored to scientific use under Pius VI., it was the scene, from 1800 to 1821, of the magnetic, meteorological, and phytological observations of an eminent Roman prelate named Filippo Gili. Its vicinity, however, to the vast dome of Saint Peter's detracted from its convenience for astronomical work, hence carried on by preference, during recent pontificates, in observatories on the hither side of the Tiber. These having been confiscated by the Italian Government, the expediency of reorganising the older institution became apparent, and was accentuated by Jubilee offerings to the present Holy Father of various astronomical and other scientific instruments. A receptacle has accordingly been found for them in the Gregorian Tower, where appropriate investigations will be conducted with, it may be hoped, valuable results. A dependency of this main building, but commanding a wider horizon, has meanwhile been established by the Pope's orders in the Leonine Fort on the summit of the Vatican hill; here is installed the large photographic telescope constructed for star-charting purposes by the MM. Henry of Paris, and here, under exceptionally favourable conditions of climate, and the learned direc-

tion of Father Denza, the great task of registering the contents of the heavens will be carried on during the next few years. The interest of the Catholic world in its progress will certainly not be lessened by the participation in it of an establishment set on foot by august authority to symbolise, it might be said, the promotion of the march of intellect by the Church.

The Spectroscopic Determination of Motion.—An admirable exposition of the principle underlying this new system of investigation, with specimens of its most interesting results, has been contributed by M. Cornu, the eminent French Academician, to the *Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes* for 1891. It has a somewhat curious history. The idea of determining the movements of the heavenly bodies by changes in the refrangibility of the light emitted by them, originated with Christian Doppler in 1842; but in an unshapen, one might almost say, a misshapen form. He supposed that variations of colour would ensue upon, and betray, variations of velocity in the line of sight. This, however, was a complete misapprehension. For such an effect, to become perceptible, not alone presupposes a most improbable rate of speed, but its very existence is precluded by the presence of an invisible range of vibrations at either end of the visible spectrum, the shiftings of which by movement would perfectly compensate to the eye the shiftings, through the same movement, of the visible rays. The gamut of colour would thus always remain complete, infra-red pressing up to replace red beams turned orange, say, by advance *towards* the spectator, ultra-violet dropping down to supply violet beams altered to blue by recession *from* the spectator. But it is otherwise with certain dusky lines forming a well-known feature of celestial spectra. These, under all circumstances, maintain their individuality. Even when pushed, as the result of motion, a little up or down in the spectrum, they remain unmistakably recognisable, and the amount of their displacements being strictly measurable, gives the strict measure of the velocities producing them. This was pointed out in 1848 by M. Fizeau of Paris, and the honour is thus his of having established the true theory of this inestimable method. But for its actual realisation even this was not enough. The science of spectral analysis had first to be constituted; before the shiftings through motion of the solar, planetary, and stellar “fixed lines” could be depended upon as significant, it was necessary to demonstrate their intrinsic stability as representing the vibrations of chemical bodies of invariable constitution; to say nothing of the instrumental refinements requisite in such delicate operations as the determination of “motion-displacements”—if really present, certainly very minute. All this occupied twenty years; then at last Dr. Huggins detected tell-tale symptoms of end-on movement in a number of stars, and by his measurements of them created a new branch of exact astronomy. Their exactitude, indeed, was as yet prospective; observations with the eye being so gravely perplexed by atmospheric disturbances as to leave a very wide margin of uncertainty about the data they were

then the sole means of procuring. Yet genuine results were obtained; the way was struck out; time and persistent effort might be trusted to overcome the difficulties that remained. To enable them to do so, however, a further important development of the resources of astronomy was needed. The increased powers of the camera brought just the appropriate remedy against the effects of aerial oscillations. For to a great extent these are neglected by the sensitive plate, which registers the spectral rays thrown upon it accurately in their true places, apart from the tremors and oscillations only too painfully apparent to the human retina. This happy circumstance was first taken advantage of by M. Vogel in 1888, and the Potsdam spectrograph has already supplied a valuable store of reliable data concerning stellar movements in line of sight. They need, however, to be indefinitely multiplied before general inferences can be fitly derived from them; and hence the prospect that other observatories will before long co-operate in the work is particularly welcome to those who desire that speculation in matters sidereal should not remain fruitless.

As specimens of what may be expected from a method thus perfected at the cost of prolonged and varied exertions, we may refer to the discoveries, through slight spectral changes produced by their orbital motion, of closely revolving double stars. The first of these was made by Miss Maury at Harvard College; others have followed both there and at Potsdam; further detections of the same kind, and by the same means, may confidently be looked for. From a sufficiently numerous collection of stellar motions in the line of sight, moreover, the direction and speed of the solar translation through space can be deduced with far greater certainty than is otherwise attainable; by their aid, the great problem of stellar distances may be at least partially elucidated; and into this vortex of inquiry the interstitial movements of nebulae are also not unlikely to be drawn.

"As yet," M. Cornu concludes, "it is impossible to forecast the future reserved for the Doppler-Fizeau method. Brought forth yesterday, but just admitted into the curriculum of observatories, it has nevertheless already attacked with success the leading problems of modern astronomy, and by its means questions regarding the orbital revolutions and movements in space of stellar systems, the translation of our own solar system, and the transformations of nebulae, may be expected to receive definitive answers. Although it cannot yet lay claim to all the precision and certainty of the older methods, it has given proofs of possessing extraordinary potential resources, the delicacy of the details revealed by it serving as a pledge of coming penetration, further than could be accomplished with the most powerful telescopes, into the intimate structure of the universe. Stellar astronomy has entered upon a new era."

The Classification of Stars.—This subject has been thoughtfully and candidly discussed by Mr. Maunder in two recent numbers of *Knowledge*. Not, however, in its entire range. Only what are

called the "Sirian" and "Solar" stars have been considered; the problem set by the red stars with banded spectra being left practically untouched. This is a wise reticence; inquiries spread over too wide an area are apt to be inconclusive; and the two former classes can very well be separately dealt with. Their peculiarities supply abundant materials for present thought and future investigation. The questions most obviously demanding answers are these: Do white stars like Sirius and yellow stars like our sun represent merely different stages of growth? And if so, which is the earlier stage? It has hitherto been assumed that stellar "types" correspond to diversities of "age" alone, and imply no diversities in original constitution; and it must be admitted that some ground for the assumption is afforded by the unbroken gradation of specimens by which the transition is effected from one type to the other. There is no breach of continuity; one species is linked on to the next by a long chain of barely perceptible variations. All these, exhibited to observation simultaneously in the heavens, have been plausibly supposed successive as regards the "life" of each individual star. But recent inquiries throw grave doubt upon this view. The evidence brought forward by Mr. Maunder tends to show that diversities of spectral type are not explicable on any simple evolutionary hypothesis. He admits, indeed—and it is difficult to avoid admitting—that some stars are more advanced in their careers as suns than others; but the records of their advance are not clearly decipherable; and fundamental varieties of structure, or of chemical composition, must, it now begins to be seen, have at least a share assigned to them in producing the spectroscopic diversity of sidereal objects.

There is much reason to believe that Sirian stars in general are both considerably rarer as to substance, and considerably more brilliant as to surface, than solar stars. This would seem to indicate that development, if truly responsible for their distinctive peculiarities, proceeds from the white to the yellow stars—that is, by the natural order of progression, from the less to the more condensed bodies. But if this were the case, the rule that a Sirian spectrum is the badge of a comparatively attenuated mass should be invariable; and it is far from being so. The exceptions to it, gathered from a comparison of the revolutions and apparent brightness of binary stars, are numerous and striking. The probability, moreover, is strongly urged by Mr. Maunder, that solar stars are, on the whole, more potent light-givers than Sirian stars, and this notwithstanding their inferiority in actual emissive intensity per square foot of surface. They must then be really much larger and more massive bodies, a difference obviously independent of growth or decay, subsisting *ab initio* and lasting *usque ad finem*. Professor Pickering has shown besides that the two classes of objects are not quite similarly distributed over the sphere. For while stars of the nature of our sun occur indifferently in all directions, stars of the Sirian type are, proportionately, much more numerous in the Milky Way. And this result of

statistical enumeration has been confirmed and extended to smaller stars by Dr. Gill's photographic survey of the southern heavens. It seems indeed probable that the "star-dust" of the galactic clusters consists entirely of objects similar in constitution, and perhaps not inferior in size to the greater Dog Star, though enormously more remote. This surprising fact may prove of transcendent importance to future theories of sidereal construction, but its full bearing upon them cannot yet be estimated. The upshot of all these arguments is, then, to render it highly probable that stellar spectra are indexes, not to the progress of a uniform course of development, but to varieties of organisation offering to stellar physicists a boundless and attractive arena of investigation.

The Rejuvenescence of Crystals.—From the universality of natural laws, and the consequent tendency of the various exact sciences to a common basis, crystallography is about to become an intensely practical part of geology. So far, it has occupied an interesting, but comparatively small, portion of experimental chemistry; now the phenomena of crystallisation which confront the geologist are found to need for their explanation "the light of experiment and the leading of analogy." From a knowledge of the properties of the artificially formed crystals of the laboratory it is possible to investigate and analyse even those complicated groups of phenomena in natural crystallisation, which, from the length of time needed for their formation, defy our laboratory efforts at reproduction.

Time is a most important factor in crystallisation. This was dwelt on by Professor Judd in one of this spring's Friday evening discourses at the Royal Institution on the "Rejuvenescence of Crystals." Crystals can resume their growth after interruption, and there seems no time limit to this possibility of growth-continuation. They can resume growth under different conditions and by a different method. And in this connection, in considering zoned crystals, Professor Judd pointed out that the beautiful theory of isomorphism as propounded by Mitscherlich, in the face of the result of modern investigations, requires re-modelling. Crystals can resume growth after mutilation, and in growing repair their injuries; and, going beyond the low forms of organic structure, it seems that in the mineral kingdom there is no limit of crystal fragmentary minuteness which cannot grow after millions of intervening years into a perfect crystal. These can intergrow, yet preserving distinct individuality. And further, old crystals, such as are found in deep-seated rocks, "pseudomorphs," which have had their internal structure in great part altered, and have become filled with secondary products, can lose all signs of age, and grow young again, clear and transparent, with perfect faces and angles, if only a certain small proportion of their unaltered molecules remain. When we remember that the earth's crust is built up of crystals in all these various stages, we realise that the future geologist must go hand in hand with the student of crystallography, and that his verification

of geological facts rests in great part on the experiments of the chemist.

The Efficiency of Artificial Illumination—Luminescence.

—The enthusiasm with which the advent of the incandescent electric lamp was greeted claimed it to be an ideal light. But familiarity with its working has bred criticism, and, while allowing that it is an advance in artificial illumination, the scientist cannot fail to discern that in its present form it is only a temporary expedient, as it lacks that "economy" so marked in the operations of Nature, and so difficult to attain in the applications of science. An incandescent lamp has a certain length of life, according to the manner it is treated. It may be 1000 hours or a few moments. But even if that constant voltage which will ensure it having a long life is maintained, it is not equally a good servant during the course of its existence. The lamp deteriorates in the efficiency of its candle-power as time goes on. There is (1) the gradual disintegration of the carbon filament; (2) the production of the black film of carbon upon the glass bulb; (3) the increased resistance of the carbon filament which comes with wear. To balance these deteriorating agencies it is possible to gradually increase the electro-motive force, which will make up the efficiency of the light; but such a process is commercially extravagant, according to results obtained by Professor Edward Nicols, and lately described by him at the New York Electric Club. A lamp of 16 candles was subjected to rises of electro-motive force, the actual increase being 9 volts. In this test the efficiency decreased from 3.118 volts per candle to 3.468 volts. The resistance of the filament rose from 221.6 to 234.8 ohms. For the first fifty hours of the test the changes were slow; after this point there was a sudden increase of resistance. The life of this lamp was only 100 hours. Another lamp of the same candle-power was started at 57 candles, and then kept at constant voltage. Its short life was only $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Professor Nicols thinks such experiments as these make it clearly evident that the limit of the temperature to which the carbon filament can be exposed without bringing it to an untimely end has been reached. This limit does not stand high; in fact, the incandescent lamp seems to him to be fairly stable only at temperatures in which its efficiency does not exceed about 5 watts per candle. At this limit 95 per cent. of the radiant energy emitted is made up of wave lengths, that are useless for the production of light. But while making these criticisms, the Professor has overlooked the fact that an improvement in the vacua of incandescent lamps would greatly influence the life of the carbon filament, and one may reasonably ask the question whether the limit of practical exhaustion has been reached.

Professor Nicols thinks that the problem of a really economic artificial light may be solved by the use of a substance that is capable of becoming luminescent as well as incandescent, or even without the assistance of incandescence. His remarks on this point are very suggestive, and might well be studied by those who possess the inventive

faculty. "Luminescence" is a somewhat new phrase, originated to include those phenomena which are known as Phosphorescent and Fluorescent. Professor Nicols points out that *Luminescence* is due to a different class of molecular vibration from that which causes ordinary incandescence. It produces vibrations in which a single wave length, or set of wave lengths, predominates. *Luminescence* is the result of previous treatment of the substance; sometimes it is the direct action of the sun's rays, as in the case of the sulphide of calcium, which shines after exposure to light; sometimes some chemical reaction, or process of crystallisation, in which latter case the luminescence has been latent until set free by an external force. This may be friction, heat, or electricity. Professor Nicols is of opinion that the dazzling brilliancy of the magnesium light is partly due to the luminescence of the white oxide of magnesium formed during the process of combustion. He thinks that possibly magnesium may become one means of practical illumination, instead of being only used as a firework and photographic speciality. A few years ago such a suggestion would have appeared extremely impracticable, magnesium being then a costly luxury; but a new process for producing the metal at once reduced its cost enormously, the well-known magnesium ribbon, now so largely used by the amateur photographer, being sold at 2s. 6d. an ounce instead of 16s. Professor Nicols is sanguine that other methods of obtaining this abundant metal will be forthcoming that will still further reduce its market price. Amongst other artificial illuminants magnesium stands pre-eminent in approaching nearest to the conditions of sunlight. According to Professor Nicols, the magnesium flame is ten times brighter in the violet than a gas flame of equal power, and but little more than half as bright in the red. It is even brighter than the electric arc light beyond the yellow, excepting a very limited region of the extreme violet. The brilliancy of its light is best appreciated when compared with our ordinary methods of illumination. "A screen which is well lighted by incandescent lamps gives you the impression of a nearly uniform white surface. Its whiteness now, however, is a very different thing from that which it takes under the rays of the magnesium light. It sinks by comparison into a rather weak chocolate brown." In comparing the ratio of total radiation to light-giving radiation with other sources of illumination, it is found that the efficiency of the magnesium light stands very high. Weight for weight, magnesium affords more than thirty times the light obtained from gas, with the development of much less heat. Although Professor Nicols thinks that a portion of the brilliancy of the magnesium light is to be found in the luminescent qualities of the magnesium oxide, yet, as he points out, much of the brilliancy is due to its simple incandescence. The oxide is a white amorphous solid, which is twice as heavy as the metal itself. During combustion it remains in the place where it was first formed, and becomes intensely incandescent. Having a considerable radiating surface, it affords a large amount of light. But while it is incandescent, the Professor thinks we have

every reason to believe that other wave-motions which have been stored up in the magnesium are set free, and that we have the phenomenon of "luminescence" combining with incandescence to give the magnesium spectrum so rich in light rays. Professor Nicols comes to the conclusion that for economic artificial illumination we must have higher efficiency at low temperatures. Perhaps a metallic oxide, rendered incandescent by electrical means, may give such a result. But in a truly ideal light, as he says, there should be no heat, or next to none, to accompany the production of the light rays. Such an attainment may not be hopeless. In the light of the Geisler tube the accompanying heat is next to nothing; it has only been measured by that refined and sensitive instrument—the Bunsen ice calorimeter. Then there is the light of the fire-fly, which has been investigated with such accuracy by Messrs. Langley and Very. This would seem to be the most perfect example of a source of light. "All the energy of its spectrum is massed within the narrow limit of its visible spectrum; and what is more, by far the greatest part of it is in the form of rays which are especially important for the purposes of radiation, the particular rays which give us yellow and green light. The non-luminous radiation which accompanies the light of the fire-fly seems to be so insignificant that it was with difficulty that it could be estimated even with the almost inconceivably delicate apparatus used by Langley and Very. They give the efficiency as about 400 times as great as that of a gas flame. It cannot fall appreciably below 100 per cent."

Electricity as an "Anæsthetic."—The relations between electricity and the human body have up to the present time been but little investigated. The experiments, however, which have been made would seem to suggest that this is a promising field of research, and one that may one day add abundantly to the resources of medical science. The fact that a current of electricity will carry with it a drug in solution through the skin of the human body is one which deserves the examination of the medical profession.

Experiments in this so-called electric osmosis seem to have been first made in Germany and America, but they have been taken up with some earnestness in this country by Mr. H. Newman Lawrence and Dr. Harries, who were lately able to make a successful demonstration at a meeting of the Society of Arts. They state that they arrived at the results that were shown at this meeting by three stages of experiments. In the first experiment they took two glass vessels; one of these they filled to the brim with dilute sulphuric acid, and the other with a solution of barium chloride. Between the two glasses they placed a piece of lamp-wick well soaked in a solution of sodium chloride, the ends of which were dipped in the respective liquids. The arrangement was left without disturbance for twenty-four hours, to see whether there would be any transference of the hydric sulphate into the barium chloride by simple capillary action. No such action occurred. Then the experimenters placed in the vessel containing the dilute sulphuric acid an electrode

connected with the positive pole of the battery, and in the vessel containing the barium chloride another electrode connected with the negative pole, and sent a current through the arrangement. In half an hour there was a deposit of barium sulphate, showing that the current of electricity had mechanically transferred some of the hydric sulphate to the solution of barium chloride.

In the second experiment they divided a glass trough into two compartments by means of a piece of baked clay, which is a porous substance. A thin piece was selected, but of sufficient substance to prevent any chance of leakage. In one of these compartments they placed a solution of iodine, and in the other a solution of starch. When an electrode was placed in each compartment, one connected with the positive, the other with the negative pole of the battery, and a current allowed to pass, it was found that within an hour there was a distinct precipitation of iodide of starch. In the third experiment, in place of the lamp-wick of the first experiment, and the porous plate of the second, is substituted the human skin. Through this a drug can be conveyed by a continuous electric current. To take the example shown at the meeting above mentioned, if it is wished to produce insensibility to pain in a particular spot of the arm of a person, a small pad in connection with one of the electrodes is steeped in cocaine, and placed upon the desired spot. The negative electrode is placed a little higher up. The current is allowed to pass through the skin for twenty-five minutes, and on removing the pad it is found that the skin is quite insensible to pain; a needle can be thrust through it without the subject showing the slightest sign of pain, and even a red-hot iron can be applied without discomfort. Should future investigation find that no injurious action accompanies such a method of treatment, there can be no doubt that in electricity we shall have a new and valuable anæsthetic.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

A Girl in the Karpathians.—Miss Mémie Muriel Dowie* has proved herself a heroine of travel in her indifference to the ordinary requirements of civilisation, and in her capability of sustaining hardship, loneliness, and, if not actual danger, at least many chances of it. To roam alone through the mountain solitudes of Galicia, sometimes sleeping in the open air, with no companion save a rough

* "A Girl in the Karpathians." By Mémie Muriel Dowie. London: George Philip & Son. 1891.

peasant whose dialect she understood but imperfectly, was an enterprise that few young ladies of two-and-twenty would have had nerve to undertake, while the revolting squalor and dirt amid which she was content to live for weeks would have been almost equally deterrent. Neither were the results of her journey such as to compensate for these privations. Beauty of scenery in the region traversed by her there seems to have been none, while her ignorance of the language deprives her study of local manners of much of its value. The people among whom her experiences principally lay were the Ruthenians, a Slavonic race occupying East Galicia, or Red Russia, between the borders of Hungary and Volhynia. They profess the Greek religion, and seem, by the author's account, to be low in the scale both of morality and civilisation. Their dress is picturesque, as their upper garment, a sort of short open pelisse, is richly embroidered by their own skill. Their foot-gear consists of cowhide sandals, which Miss Dowie found a very comfortable substitute for the shoes and boots of civilisation. The commerce of the towns and villages is entirely in the hands of the Jews, who wear a long gabardine or soutane, while their women are distinguished by a yellow handkerchief on the head. The mountainous districts are occupied by the Huzuls or Huculs, a semi-savage race of mingled Mongol and Slavonic blood.

The North-West Frontier of India.—The *Times* of May 20 gives a summary of recent movements on the Indian frontier at its vulnerable point in the North-West. Here communications, both strategic and commercial, are being rapidly opened up, and Sir Robert Sandeman has been visiting various chiefs in Baluchistan with a view to pacifying the tribes so as to admit of restoring caravan traffic by the old Kafilā route between India and Southern Persia, *via* Beyla and Panjgur. The latter is one of the principal States on the Persian border, from which it is about sixty miles distant, and the route thence to Karachi, described as easier than that by the Zhob Valley, leads direct to Seistan, termed by Colonel Bell the watch-tower of Baluchistan and Khorassan. It is also pointed out that this line deserves special attention as the one likely to be followed by the future railway to India, being preferable to the alternative one by Herat and Kandahar, as less liable to capture from Russian territory, and more entirely within the sphere of British influence. Panjgur, which had previously been devastated by border raids, is now occupied by a detachment of Baluchi levies, and its plain, with peace secured by their presence, is being restored to cultivation.

The recently annexed Zhob Valley has meantime been surveyed for a railway, which will supply a second line of approach to Kandahar, and facilitate the massing of troops on that objective, while shortening the route from the plains of the Punjab to Ghazni and Kabul, thus strengthening the defensive position of Afghanistan. The successive Miranzai expeditions in 1854, 1877, and 1891 have had the effect of reducing to submission tribes who had defied the

authority alike of Calcutta and Kabul, rendering their country the Alsatia of the border. The blow struck by Sir W. Lockhart in the recent campaign will restore tranquillity for some time to come, as he inflicted a crushing defeat on them, with a loss of 300 killed and wounded, after which he blew up numbers of their fortified towers and exacted securities for good behaviour. The Black Mountain Expedition, the sequel to previous campaigns in 1852, 1868, and 1888, has a similar object, and has hitherto met with little resistance, the two columns composing it having effected a junction with but trifling loss.

The Manchester Ship Canal.—As in the case of most such enterprises, the Manchester Ship Canal has proved a work of greater cost and difficulty than was anticipated. Not only has fresh capital been required, for which the aid of the Manchester Corporation has been invoked; but it has been found necessary to extend the time allowed for the completion of the Canal from August 5, 1892, to December 31, 1893. It is thought, however, that the lower portion, from Eastham to the mouth of the Weaver, may be completed by the end of the current year. The course of the channel trends south and south-east from the Eastham Lock gates, within the southern shore of the estuary, crossing a succession of bays and inlets, necessitating at two places, Pool Hall and Ellesmere Point, the construction of sloping sea-walls for a length of a mile each. Intervening capes and headlands had also to be cut through, and the nature of the soil, in some places too hard, and in others too yielding, caused much difficulty from landslips and settlements. Two brooks, the Gowy and Thornton, had, in another place, to be carried, in tubes 12 feet in diameter, 18 feet below the bed of the Canal, and discharged into the estuary. The mouth of the Weaver is closed by great sluices, with ten openings admitting of the passage of vessels at high water between that river and the Ship Canal.

The works on the non-tidal portion of the waterway above Latchford, twenty-one miles from the Eastham entrance, are not so well advanced as on the lower course, financial difficulties having delayed their progress. Among the gigantic tasks required on this portion of the waterway is the erection of a huge swing tank to carry the old Bridgewater Canal across the Ship Canal, in place of Brindley's aqueduct at Barton. The tank is to be 180 feet in length, so as to overspan the 170 feet surface width of the Ship Canal at this point. The main pier, on which the tank is to pivot, is well advanced towards completion, allowing pieces of the centre on which the hydraulic swing machinery is to turn to be put in their places. (*Times*, May 19, 1891.)

The Plum Trade of Bosnia.—The British Consul at Serajevo reports that the plum crop in Bosnia last year, after having given promise of abundance, suffered from the ravages of an insect, which pierced the fruit when about the size of a pea, causing it to wither and drop off. In many districts, too, the trees were stripped of their leaves by caterpillars, yet, despite these misfortunes, the crop, though

reduced in quantity to about 14,763 tons, or no more than a third of the ordinary produce, was of excellent quality. New drying-ovens have been introduced by the Government with excellent results, as the plums remain fresher, and consequently heavier—so much so, that while by the old method it takes from 350 to 400 okes of the fresh fruit to produce 100 when dried, the new ovens yield the same weight with 300 to 340 okes. The price, moreover, is regulated by the number of dried plums to the half-kilogramme, and as this, which was 95 to 100 with the old ovens, is only 80 to 85 with the new, there is a gain in this respect of 2*sh.* to 3*sh.* per 100 okes. They also economise labour, and 30 to 40 per cent of fuel, but, as their prime cost is greater, and the drying process some hours longer, it will probably be some time before they are generally adopted.

Condition of Ngamiland.—The country round Lake Ngami, hitherto known as Moremi's Land, from the name of its late ruler, is one of those slices of African territory which have recently been placed under the British protectorate. The African and General Exploring Company having acquired considerable concessions there, recently sent an expedition to obtain their confirmation from the chiefs, and the result of this exploration has been to describe all the country south of the lake as a mass of quartz reefs, probably gold-bearing. The present government is a regency, exercised by a chief, called Dithapo, in combination with others, but the future ruler, who will probably be installed in the course of the present year, is Sechome, a boy of sixteen, a nephew of Khama, the ruler of Bechuanaland, and, like him, a total abstainer, though not a Christian. The people are described as discontented with the present form of government, as they were accustomed to the strong hand of Moremi, and miss the guidance of his almost absolute will. The future ruler is his half-brother, and will, it is believed, prove a capable successor. The Towana, as this assembly of tribes is called, are harassed by their neighbours, the Namaqua tribe, who are more or less nomadic, but are desirous of acquiring a portion of Ngamiland to settle on, and, as this has been steadily refused, they give vent to their dissatisfaction in raids on passing traders. A settlement has been made on the hills by the agents of the Company, and a house erected for the storage of goods, but the fever which prostrated some members of the party in the course of their explorations is a proof that the country is not generally habitable by Europeans. It is situated north of the Kahlari Desert, and its lakes are a series of salt-pans, probably the remnants of a formerly extensive sheet of fresh water.

Peruvian Railways.—The Peruvian Corporation has just published a report, prepared by the Earl of Donoughmore, after a prolonged visit to Peru, originally undertaken in the interest of the Peruvian Bondholders' Committee. The railways are the most valuable of the concessions held by the Corporation representing the bondholders, and on their development the whole future of the country depends. Peru and Bolivia occupy an almost unique geographical position, inasmuch as their territory consists of both slopes of a great

mountain chain, and is consequently divided into two sections, of which the western, or Pacific incline, itself barren and rainless, is almost inaccessible from the eastern and inland half of the country. This region, known as the *montaña*, is, unlike the Pacific slope, fertilised by a bounteous rainfall, and is rich in all tropical growths, as well as in the cattle, cereals, and other agricultural produce which Western Peru is obliged to import. The railways from the coast, which cross the Andes at the prodigious height of 16,000 feet, are intended to remedy this evil, but their farther extension is required in order to do so effectually. The prolongation of the Central Railway to Oroya will open up the district of Yauli, whose rich silver mines could then be worked with the aid of imported machinery. Additional steamer service is also recommended, to promote the increasing traffic on Lake Titicaca, in the neighbourhood of which are gold mines favourably reported on. Pending the development of railway traffic, the supply of guano will furnish a revenue to the Corporation for several years, and a pioneer expedition has been despatched to secure land in the central district. Lord Donoughmore found the labour supply sufficient on the estates visited by him, and declares the Indians to be competent miners, but recommends the introduction of Chinese with a view to future development. The Corporation has also a valuable property in the Cerro de Pasco Silver Mines, but one which will require considerable capital for its exploitation.

Mexican Railways.—According to news from Mexico of April 14, there seems to be now some chance of the prosecution of the works for extending the Mexican Central Railroad from Guadalajara to San Blas on the Pacific. This extension was begun nine years ago, at the San Blas end, and sixteen miles of road were actually constructed, but the works were discontinued, the rails removed, and the engines and other materials shipped, *viâ* Guaymas, to Paso del Norte. There was some discontent in San Blas at the abandonment of the project, and the formation of an independent company for the construction of a line from Guadalajara to that point or to Mazatlan was mooted, but dropped as impracticable. The road is reported to be a difficult and costly one to build, owing to the mountainous character of the country to be traversed, but local authorities opine that it would be a paying one, as it would open up the northern Pacific coast of Mexico, declared to be rich in agricultural and mineral resources. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 4.)

Locusts in Morocco.—A British Consular report from Mogador describes the ravages inflicted on the country during the spring by swarms of locusts, which, appearing first in the southern province of Sous in October, gradually spread over the adjoining districts, until they reached the fertile grain-producing lands round Mazagan and Casablanca. There they proceeded to lay their eggs, preparing still further extension of destruction, as the young locusts in their early wingless state are if possible more voracious than when fully grown. In addition to the havoc wrought on green crops, the yield of oil

and almonds for the year will be seriously diminished by the stripping of the bark from the almond and olive trees, the produce of which was in some places gathered unripe to save it from total destruction. The only means taken to reduce the number of the winged marauders is to collect them in bags for sale as food among the natives. Taken into the towns in camel-loads, the ruddy-brown or greenish-yellow insects—their colours in autumn and spring respectively—are first boiled in salt and water, and then fried or parched. Their flavour is by Europeans compared to that of prawns, but they are not, like that crustacean, considered unclean by either Jews or Mohammedans. A story was told of two children being found devoured by locusts, with the addition that some of the Jews in Mogador, who had bought a consignment of locusts from that locality, were taken ill in consequence of their having eaten human flesh. This tale, like similar ones propagated in Algeria, is probably false, as locusts are not believed to consume animal food.

Nickel Mines of Canada.—The *Times* of June 5 quotes a special correspondent of the *Toronto Globe*, who has just concluded a tour through the nickel region near Sudbury, and says that not even the restrictive legislation of the Ontario Government can long retard the development of its mining industries, as enough claims are held free of all limitations to supply the markets until the demand reaches enormous proportions. The result of the recent experiments conducted at Annapolis by the Navy Department of the United States has been to show the vast increase in resisting power conferred by an alloy of nickel on steel armour-plating. As the metal is found only in a very few localities, its possession promises to add largely to the future wealth of Canada, and Sudbury, where 200 buildings, some of them handsome structures, have been erected within the last twelve months, looks forward to a golden future. A capitalist of Chicago has recently extracted close upon 1000 tons of nickel at Drury, and Mr. Ahn, of Nickel City, has set up there an improved apparatus for reducing the ore, “by which the separation will be made through the application of an electric current to the mercury, thus preventing it (in miners’ phrase) from becoming sick.” Platinum mining has also been undertaken on a scale that threatens to rival that of nickel.

The New Treaty Port in China.—A writer in the *Times* of May 22 complains of the inertia of the British authorities in establishing the rights secured to them by treaty in the newly opened Chinese Port, Chungking, on the Upper Yangtse. The British Consular representative was not even present at the inaugural ceremony on March 1, and the concession, according to the correspondent, remains a dead letter pending further instructions from Peking, that citadel of procrastination. No measures have been taken to secure a site for a foreign settlement in which Europeans could live conformably to the requirements of their standard of civilisation, as was invariably done in former days on the opening of a treaty port. This right was abandoned in the case of Ichang, the

nearest port below Chungking, in consequence of the throwing of some stones at the British Consul and officials engaged in determining the boundary, by the squatters who had taken unauthorised possession of the land. The consequence is that European residents, instead of having a separate quarter, where roads, drainage, and lighting should be under their own control, are compelled to live amid the unspeakable noisomeness of a densely packed Chinese city, traversed by narrow and filthy winding lanes, so impassable without contamination that no one who can afford a decent dress ever goes out except in a sedan chair. Self-protection would also be a motive for the concentration of European inhabitants, as anti-foreign riots are frequent in remote Chinese towns. In Chungking in 1886 the British representative was obliged to take refuge for seven months in the official residence of the magistracy, while the missionaries, since returned, had to fly down the river. Last summer, in a neighbouring town, the Catholic Church was demolished, eight Christians burnt, and the remainder, with their pastor, a priest from Lyons, obliged to fly for their lives. "The Christians (says the writer), of whom numerous flourishing communities, some dating back to the seventeenth century, existed in the neighbourhood, were all driven from their homes, their crops were destroyed by fire, and the starving people fled to the mountains, where large numbers perished. The survivors are still at this date (March 19) unable to return to their homes, and are now subsisting mainly on the charity of their co-religionists and of the Fathers in this city."

The Sacred Citron.—The British Consul at Mogador describes, in a recent report, the sacred citron of the Jews, a fruit sold in Morocco, but never eaten. Its value consists in its symbolical signification and its place in Jewish ritual, for which it is so highly prized that specimens without blemish, intended to be carried to the synagogue on the Feast of Tabernacles, sometimes fetch 4s. each in Mogador, and in England from one to two guineas. The passage supposed to enjoin its use occurs in the 23rd chapter of Leviticus, in a passage of which the Jewish version runs as follows: "And ye shall take to yourselves on the first day the fruit of the tree hadar, palm leaves, boughs of the tree aboth, and willows of the brook." These varieties are particularised in a Jewish book, "The Festivals of the Lord," as fruit of the tree hadar, or citron, in Hebrew "troon," the "capoth tamarin," or palm leaves, boughs of the tree aboth, or myrtle, and brook willows. The "troon," or "tabernacle citron," as it is sometimes called, is, according to a paragraph in the *Times* of May 21, a fruit of a pale greenish yellow, rather longer than a lemon, always plucked before fully ripe, containing but one pip, and said to be of an extremely pure nature, and to keep sound a long time. Those exported from Mogador are carefully packed in cotton-wool, as their value for ritualistic use is entirely dependent on their freedom from blemish as certified by the priests. The locality producing them is Assats or Assat, in the province of Sous, situated a day or half a day's journey from the

town of Tarudant, and on the banks of the River Sous. It is said to contain a very ancient Hebrew cemetery, and orchards known by the names of Aaron, Moses, David, &c., and the authority of the Moorish Government is not recognised there. The Jews say that all sacred "troons" come from this place, but are unable to explain how they are supplied to their co-religionists all over the world. As many as 110 boxes, containing 9024 fruits, have been shipped from Mogador in a single year.

Coalfields of the Northern Shan States.—The report of Dr. Noetling, the geological expert sent from India to examine the coal deposits in the Shan States, is not very encouraging as to their practical utility. The principal ones would indeed be workable if sufficiently accessible, but are situated 170 miles from the nearest centre of traffic, and reached by a road of which fifty miles may be travelled by carts and the remainder by baggage animals. Only the construction of a railway could give them any economical value, and this would be a costly undertaking if the fuel necessary for its working had to be brought from Rangoon. The alluvial deposits associated with the carboniferous strata would also impede the extraction of the mineral, as a thick layer of clay in one, and of conglomerate in another, would necessitate very strong support for the sides of the shaft to resist their lateral pressure, while strong pumping machinery would also probably be required to drain the workings. When we add to these difficulties the unhealthiness of a feverish climate, we have said enough to show that the prospect of creating a coal-mining industry in the States is, at best, a very remote one.

Forest Fires on the St. Lawrence.—The woodland districts on the St. Lawrence were devastated last June by terrible conflagrations. A telegram from St. John, New Brunswick, on the 10th, described the Miramichi Valley as a sea of flames, spreading for dozens of miles over the country, and leaving not a house or barn standing, while the farmers and lumber-men crowded into the port as fugitives. A railway station was utterly destroyed, and all the carriages burned, together with 15,000 railway ties left on the track. Despatches from Quebec described the peril encountered by the schooners, the *Katie* and *Marie Louise*, which had ventured up the river, and which were partially set on fire by brands falling on their decks while slowly feeling their way through the dense smoke. The crews, despite the intense heat, had to wear their heaviest clothing to protect themselves, but were badly scorched nevertheless. They were eventually rescued by a tug. Navigation was entirely suspended on the river, and the Allan steamers *Sarmatian* and *Peruvian* were unable to make their way through the dense smoke, while a steamer went ashore at St. Francois from the same cause. The north shore was reported by pilots to be ablaze for 200 miles, and hundreds of farmers arrived homeless in the city, having lost their crops, stock, and farming implements in the conflagration. Ten square miles of timber land were reported blazing near Lake

St. John, and the trains on the St. John Railway were stopped by the fires on both sides of the track. In this district not a house was left standing, nor a horse or beast alive, between Beaudet and Macignac Station, a distance of sixty miles. The village of Black Lake was utterly destroyed, and tents and provisions had to be sent up to shelter and relieve the inhabitants, as 300 families were left roofless and starving.

The Envoys from Gazaland.—Gungunhana's envoys come as the bearers of his third request to be taken under the protection of the British Empire, Huluhulu, their senior, having been in each case his mouthpiece. Sent to Natal on this errand about eight years ago, on the death of Umzila, his petition was laid before the Colonial Government, but rejected, and when despatched on a subsequent mission he was not received at all. Having now reached the kraal of the "Great White Queen," he has secured attention to his master's wishes in the highest quarter. He is a Zulu of pure blood, about sixty years of age, distinguished by an india-rubber circlet round his head, as an Induna of high standing. The younger envoy, Umfeti, is about thirty. Their English companion and spokesman, Mr. Doyle, a native of Natal, who was never in England before, is in the service of the Chartered Company, and was one of its earliest pioneers. Huluhulu indignantly repudiates the Portuguese claim to the suzerainty of Gazaland, and declares the so-called Treaty of Lisbon of 1886 a fabrication. The present settlement of Gungunhana's country dates from about sixty years ago, when his grandfather fled with Lobengula's father from the tyranny of the conquering Chaka, and turning eastward established himself, with his Zulu followers, in the neighbourhood of the Limpopo. He and his son, Umzila, subjected the whole country northward as far as the Lower Zambesi, and westward to the Manica plateau, the royal kraal being established among the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the latter, about 400 miles to the north-east of Gungunhana's present kraal, which is within forty miles of the sea. While Umzila persistently rejected all the overtures of the Portuguese, and refused to receive their envoys, Gungunhana yielded so far as to see them, and even to accept a small Portuguese flag which he allowed to fly over his kraal, in token of friendship, as he declares, not of subjection. "Tell the Queen," were his parting words to Mr. Doyle, "to deliver me from the Portuguese. I do not want to shed white blood; but if the Queen delivers me over to these people, I shall fight to the death against their interference." The envoys complain bitterly of the debasing influence of the Portuguese, as they introduce poisonous spirits, from the effects of which children a few years old are seen reeling in intoxication. They were much struck with the populousness of London, and declared that now indeed they had seen the origin and source of all the white men. At the same time they will be taken to other large towns, that they may not fall into the same error as the envoys of Lobengula, who, having seen only London, reported "that there was but one big kraal in England."

Anglo-Portuguese Delimitation in Africa.—The treaty between England and Portugal, after its approval by the Cortes, was presented to both Houses of Parliament on June 11, and its provisions were explained by Lord Salisbury in a speech in the House of Lords. While it gives a considerable enlargement to the Portuguese area north of the Zambesi, extending it to the watershed between that river and the waters of the Nyassa and Shiré, but not north of the 14th degree of latitude, British territory receives an accession in Manicaland, where the gold miners are now at work, on the lower right bank of the Shiré, with the advantage of facilitating inland navigation in that region, and in the inclusion within it of the Barotse Kingdom, where it was previously limited by the upper waters of the Zambesi. "What the Barotse Kingdom is (declared the Foreign Minister) will have to be ascertained by commission; but, unless we are very much misinformed, it is very much larger than the country limited by the upper waters of the Zambesi." He further explained that the whole littoral from the Zambesi to Delagoa Bay, now claimed on behalf of Gungunhana, had been recognised by treaty as Portuguese territory as recently as 1847.

Relative Endurance of Europeans and Natives in Africa.—Mr. Stanley, in his address at Manchester on June 22, 1890, reported in the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, dwelt on the superiority of the European to the African physique, as proved by the experience of his march:

Although the Europeans and the blacks [he said] lived under the same conditions, yet the mortality among the latter was much greater. Our food was the same, with the exception of tea and coffee, which lasted us two or three years; the remaining European provisions we carried were not worth considering. All our experience goes to show that the white man can live very well in Africa, provided he treats himself properly. He should not go out there too young, and he should come home every three years. There never was a day that we could not walk down the blacks, either our own men, or the aborigines of any part of Africa which we passed through. Undoubtedly the Zanzibaris carried loads, which we did not; but then they are accustomed to that work from their youth. Neither the Nubians or Somalis were obliged to carry loads. Yet, out of 13 Europeans engaged on the expedition, 11 emerged out of Africa. Out of 623 Zanzibaris 225 returned; out of 62 Nubians 12 returned; out of 13 picked Somalis 1 returned. There is no doubt that the tenacity of life is influenced by education and moral pluck. We valued our lives because we have more to live for, and "never say die," whereas the blacks, tired out by fatigue and fever, will simply sit down on the roadside, and not attempt the same effort to get on and reach camp, so as to be able to make a fresh start next morning, although they are well aware what will happen to them, for the wild natives follow up the track of the caravan just as sharks do a ship at sea. Each European who crossed Africa suffered from about 150 attacks of fever. The blacks also suffered from intense fever, but not quite so frequent. I noticed this want of stamina among the Egyptians and Nubians on that memorable march across the Bayuda Desert to reach Metemneh, when the only men I saw fall out from fatigue and thirst were black men.

Progress in the Southern States of the Union.—The most

interesting chapter (says the *Times* of June 16) in the *Board of Trade Journal* for June is its review of the industrial progress of the Southern States of the American Union. So great is the increase in manufactures and mineral production, that the South is now producing as much coal, iron ore, and pig iron as the entire United States in 1870. The increase in the first item, taking it by decades since 1860, when it was under 1,000,000 tons, amounted in 1870, 1880, and 1890 respectively, to 2,000,000, 5,676,160, and 17,772,945 tons. Still more striking are the statistics on the production of pig iron, restricted in 1860 and 1870 to the State of Tennessee, and amounting to but 13,741 and 28,688 tons for those two years respectively. In 1880 an increased area of production yielded 397,301 tons, which had risen in 1890 to nearly 2,000,000 tons. The official report of the Census officers speaks hopefully of a corresponding extension in the manufacture of steel, which, by attracting a higher class of skilled labour, would help forward the economic development of the country. The marvellous power of recovery displayed by the latter is ascribed to the vast sums received for its cotton exports. Producing about three-fourths of the annual cotton crop of the world, it manufactures only some 7 or 8 per cent. of what it grows. For the remainder, exported to New England and Europe, it is estimated to have received since 1865 nearly 8000 million dollars. Its railways have increased, between 1880 and 1889, from 20,612 to 40,521 miles, and the value of its assessed property during the same period, from 2,913,000,000 to 4,220,000,000 dollars. The industrial development of the South has a direct bearing on politics, increased population carrying with it eventually added voting power, which is based on the relative numbers of inhabitants in the several districts.

Notes on Novels.

Khaled. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

MR. CRAWFORD has given no greater proof of the wonderful versatility of his genius than in his success in investing with the interest of modern romance this fable of early Arabia. The main motive is the familiar one, with the sex reversed, of Undine and other spirit maidens, whose endowment with a human soul is conditional on their winning the love of an earthly husband. Here it is a ginn or genie, who, transformed into a man as a reward for slaying a wicked impostor, can nevertheless only acquire a soul and

the accompanying gift of immortality if he succeed in gaining the love of the princess whom fate bestows on him as a wife. Khaled, who as a man is thoroughly human, performs prodigies of valour in defence of his father-in-law's kingdom, yet cannot succeed in rousing a spark of affection in the coldly intellectual Zehowah, who, while perfectly dutiful and submissive to her husband, is incapable even of understanding the nature of the feeling required of her. Khaled vainly tries to touch her heart through pique, by feigned attentions to a beautiful captive, but she, because she does not love, is impervious to jealousy, and sees through the subterfuge that would have blinded her had the apprehensiveness of passion been there to aid it. Yet the author indicates by subtle touches that Zehowah's nature is gradually softening all this time, and its final surrender is brought about by the crisis in her husband's fate when a rising of the desert tribes threatens his throne and life. The manner in which the catastrophe is averted is novel and ingenious, while the sudden shift of popular feeling that follows is not without parallels in history. The tale is throughout thoroughly Eastern in colouring, and is a fresh illustration of the author's power of representing the most dissimilar phases of life.

Bell Barry. By RICHARD ASHE KING. London: Chatto & Windus. 1891.

WITH an Irish girl for a heroine, and Ireland for its principal scene of action, this brightly written tale has an English element in the nationality of its hero and in the scene of the tragedy of his previous life. A temperance lecturing tour, in which Bell, a bright and sensitive girl, accompanies her narrow-minded and one-eyed father, affords an opening for the introduction of some humorous episodes, and serves as an introduction to the more romantic portion of the story. This turns on the attachment between Bell and Stewart Rivers, passing under the name of Oliver Reeves in the hope of escaping recognition as the hero of a recent sensational trial in which his acquittal by a jury of the murder of his wife has yet left him under a dark suspicion of guilt. The declaration of his attachment, which under these circumstances he feels himself bound to withhold, is precipitated by circumstances, he and Bell being by a series of accidents carried off to America on board a passenger steamer casually visited by their party during her stoppage at Queenstown. This unintentional elopement lets loose all the flood-gates of scandal as to Rivers's past, and draws down, not unnaturally, the wrath of the heroine's father on the man who has allowed her name to be associated with his own in its disgrace. The final solution is brought about by the exertions of a devoted friend, who succeeds in clearing him of the stain on his character by the discovery of the real murderer. Among the minor personages happily portrayed is Bell's spiteful elder sister, in whom the proselytising zeal of some devout Pharisees is cleverly satirised.

At an Old Château. By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID. London:
Ward & Downey. 1891.

MRS. MACQUOID is in her element in describing some of the more romantic aspects of foreign life, and the little drama narrated in her present volume owes much of its charm to the local colour and accessories afforded by its setting in the old Breton Château of Locronan. A family feud interposes a barrier between Manon, the sister of the present owner of the château, and her neighbour, Captain de Camaret, but, as in all romance, this hereditary antipathy is converted into personal sympathy in the case of these two descendants of the rival houses. The young lady has a confidante in Anne Kerlaz, the porter's daughter, who is of course provided with a devoted admirer of her own, while the appearance of an unwelcome suitor for Manon's hand, supported by her brother's authority, still further complicates the situation. Out of these simple materials the art of the narrator weaves an interesting tale, comprising various *contretemps* in the interruption of romantic meetings and the discovery of attempted communications. The reader is for a considerable time left in the dark as to the real clue to the situation—Manon's secret marriage to the representative of the hostile family. The disclosure of this fact in the end exercises a soothing effect on the angry passions that had begun to rise, and the reader is left to wonder why it had not been made before, as the injunction of a dying mother seems an insufficient reason for the maintenance of an awkward mystery on such a subject. So graceful a writer as the author has, however, no difficulty in disguising this slight want of solidity in the basis of her story.

In the Heart of the Storm. By MAXWELL GRAY. London:
Kegan Paul. 1891.

A BOOK by the author of "The Silence of Dean Maitland" cannot fail to be readable, from unquestionable gifts of style and narrative power. These qualities are most apparent in the opening scenes of the present work, where the rustic environment of the childhood of the hero and heroine is described with a certain idyllic grace. Much of this charm evaporates as the story progresses, and the attempt to give adventitious interest to the hero's career by a *réchauffée* of the historical incidents of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny has been tried so often as to pall upon the reader. The plot mainly turns on another well-worn theme, the cold-blooded pursuit of a rustic beauty by an unprincipled aristocrat, whose persistent wooing at last drives her from her home in despair at finding her reputation compromised. The obvious, though no doubt useful, moral of the mischief done by good-looking reprobates in high life is farther enforced by her eventual discovery almost in the last stage of starvation by her now repentant persecutor. An unexpected windfall in

the shape of a legacy facilitates his conversion, and enables him to marry her without financial inconvenience, while her ultimate death in consequence of the privations she had previously undergone is the Nemesis of his original cruelty. The love story of her foster-brother Philip is complicated by his early betrothal to her, which binds his conscience though not his affections, as well as by the mystery overhanging his birth, which eventually resolves itself into a disreputable, though aristocratic, father, just released from penal servitude. He is, as usual in such cases, the lawful heir to a baronetcy, but abstains magnanimously from dispossessing the existing claimant, and burns a will in his own favour.

Monsieur Judas. By FERGUS HUME. London: Spencer Blackett.

THE author of "The Mystery of a Hansom Cab" opens his tale, as usual in this school of fiction, with the perpetration of a mysterious murder, and the gradual forging of the chain of evidence leading to an unexpected conclusion. As in most works of this class, too, the *imprévu* is provided at the expense of the probable, and the dramatic surprise is only obtained by the sacrifice of dramatic unity of character. The beginning of the tale is, consequently, better than its *dénouement*, and the climax leaves a feeling of disappointment rather than of satisfaction on the reader's mind. The sudden death during the night of a traveller in a strange hotel, from the effect of an overdose of opium, brings into play the genius of that inspired detective who is always the *deus ex machinâ* of such complications. Rejecting the apparently obvious explanation of suicide or death by misadventure, he proceeds to unravel the whole past history of the victim, starting from the clue afforded by the name of the chemist on the fatal box of pills which has done the mischief. It is in the construction of this part of the story, with the various-incidental entanglements bearing on it, that the greatest ingenuity is displayed, suspicion being successively directed to a number of innocent individuals, while the really guilty party is screened until the close. A farcical element is introduced by the peculiarities of some of the secondary characters, in the portraiture of which, indeed, caricature is carried to the verge of the grotesque. "M. Judas" himself, a French chemist's assistant, so nicknamed by his English neighbours, is one of those inconceivable beings speaking a jargon evolved entirely from the novelist's imagination, and utterly unlike any other form of human speech.

An American Girl in London. By SARA JEANNETTE DUNCAN.
London: Chatto & Windus. 1891.

THE vivid charm which made the story of this author's imaginary tour round the world such pleasant reading, in the volume entitled "A New Social Departure," enlivens the series of sketches, linked by a slight suggestion of plot, which embody her present

heroine's experiences in London. The *naïveté* and freshness of Miss Mamie Wick, of Chicago, are made the vehicle for presenting to the reader the familiar aspects of London life, shown under a new light by this ingenuous and quasi-unconscious satirist. Many English types are reproduced with a felicity of touch and epithet which has only the barest *soupeçon* of caricature, while the foibles of fashionable society are touched off with unerring strokes of poignant and swift-winged irony. Yet the satire is throughout without malice, and the button is never off the foil in the word-fence of the author's genial raillery. The peculiar diction of the various social classes, the military slang of Aldershot, the racing jargon of Ascot, the fashionable *argot* of the ball-room and the Park, are reproduced with wonderful fidelity, the slight shades discriminating these various categories of phraseology being often more perceptible to a stranger than to those whose perceptions are blunted by usage. Miss Wick, who is heiress to a large fortune, does not of course escape without a matrimonial plot for securing it, and the stolid reserve of the English wooer, blinding her to the real meaning of his constant attendance on her movements, leads to some amusing complications. Enlightenment only comes in the end by the too obvious adoption of her by his family, and the comedy ends with her return home somewhat disenchanted with the revelation of the interested motive of much of the kindness she has experienced during her stay.

La Fenton. By GWENDOLEN DOUGLAS GALTON. London :
Eden, Remington & Co. 1891.

THE name "La Fenton" is not, as the reader might be disposed to imagine, the Italian feminine of an English or American patronymic, but the name of an English country place, the scene of such horrors as Mrs. Radcliffe thought it necessary to veil in the perspective of outlandish distance. The heroine's early life is indeed passed in Italy, and the scenery of the neighbourhood of Palermo gives an appropriate setting to the illusion of her girlish romance, whose hero, an Englishman of the name of Waveney, is one of the numerous class who "love and ride away." The death of Stella Darrell's father coincidently with this disappointment leaves her in the power of his kinsman Philip, who has not only ousted him from his inheritance, but is darkly suspected of having made away with his father. Philip has a son, Robert, no better than himself, to whom he desires to marry Stella, as an alternative to disposing of her in some even less legitimate fashion. Meantime she is lodged in a remote and solitary chamber, equipped with all the properties for melodrama, a tapestry door suggestive of mysterious entrances or exits, and a prevailing sense of mildew, productive of an unwholesome tendency to nightmare. Add to these drawbacks, liability to the incursions of a very unprepossessing beldame, apparently on the verge of homicidal mania, and the reader has the elements of a

considerable amount of nocturnal disturbance. These preliminaries lead up to the final discovery of an imprisoned grandfather, who appears in the end to wreak poetical justice all round, first slaying his enemy in Berserker fashion, and then proceeding to remedy the past by the more orthodox method of making a new will in favour of the heroine.

New Grubb Street. A Novel. By GEORGE GISSING, Author of "The Nether World," &c. Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1891.

MR. GISSING'S touch has grown lighter, and his handling, at the same time, more firm, since he wrote "The Nether World." The story of his present book is still sombre and saddening, and the characters seem painfully drawn from life and experience. But things are not so unutterably dreary. The tale concerns itself chiefly with two contrasted literary men, one of whom dies in wretchedness and failure, whilst the other marries a desirable wife, and seems likely to live for many years in as much happiness as the editorship of a leading Review may bring to man. The one who is unfortunate—Edwin Reardon—is so thoroughly unfortunate that the reader at last loses patience with him. After at first—that is, before the story begins—obtaining some success, he loses his nerve, his brightness, his health, his temper, and (it need not be said) his means of livelihood. His young wife, who had married him with the certainty of soon seeing him a famous man, has not the heroism to stick to him in his incapacity, irritability, and bad luck. Their intercourse, in the book, is marked by the most exasperating misunderstandings, and a great deal of the dialogue of the three volumes goes to portray "scenes" in which two fairly refined natures "nag" at one another. All this is intended to be, and probably is, true to nature, but there is just a little too much of it. We find a foil in Jasper Milvain, a shrewd, cynical, hard-working, and not too highly principled young literary man. He says of himself: 'I am the literary man of 1882. . . . Literature nowadays is a trade. Your successful man of letters thinks first and foremost of the markets. He knows perfectly well all the sources of income. . . . Writing is a business. There's no question of the divine efflatus; that belongs to another sphere of life. I don't advocate the propagation of vicious literatures; I speak only of good, gross, marketable stuff—for the world's vulgar. . . . Let us use our wits to earn money. If I only had the skill, I would produce novels out-trashing the trashiest that ever sold fifty thousand copies.' There is a very good little girl, in the literary line like most of the characters, who, with the fatuity of her sex, falls madly in love with his smart young writer. He, on his side, believing she has five thousand pounds, and being for the time much attached to her, asks her to marry him, and she rapturously consents. When the money

turns out to be only fifteen hundred, the gentleman becomes cool, and there is much woe and no marriage. There are numerous literary characters beside these—Alfred Yule, the irritable and bilious father of the girl just mentioned; Biffen, whose ambition it is to rival Zola in realism, but who conscientiously confines himself to “the decently ignoble,” or “the ignobly decent”; Whelpdale, who lands at last in luck and the editorship of *Chit-chat*, at two hundred and fifty pounds a year; and two young ladies, Jasper Milvain’s sisters, who write for ladies’ newspapers till they find some one who will marry them. The moral of the book is that literature seldom pays; that luck and a friendly purse have much more to do with success than lofty ideals, and that a wife of almost any sort is a terrible encumbrance to a man who has his way to make—unless she is rich enough to make his way for him. Besides poverty, literary men seem particularly liable to colds in the head, bilious attacks, spite, and bad temper. And perhaps Mr. Gissing hints at a deeper moral; for he very clearly brings out how these men who fight and struggle, starve and kill themselves, and their wives and relatives who are interested in their success and failure, are as utterly without sense of religion as the beasts of the field. It is to be feared that the picture is only too real. At all events, the book is interesting from beginning to end.

A Draught of Lethe. By ROY TELLET, Author of “The Outcasts.”
Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

THERE is a story in these volumes, but it is terribly spun out, and overloaded with a pretence of science which makes skipping an absolute necessity. A young artist has the good or bad luck to be the means of “resuscitating” a lady, also young, who has already been placed in a mortuary for interment. Before he can marry her about 900 pages have somehow to be filled. First, she finds she has entirely lost her memory; this is the “*Draught of Lethe*.” Then she seems to have been married; and though it turns out to be a Scotch marriage, one of the villains is able to talk darkly about the “restitution of conjugal rights,” the book having been printed before what the newspapers call “the Lancashire Romance” occurred. The chief villain, who happens to be the young lady’s husband, has married another lady, believing the fascinating Evelyn to be dead. His second venture proves to be not only reasonably mad, but an adept with a bowie-knife (“of English make”) which is finally the means of ridding the world of him, and at the same time the occasion for a great deal of prose on the subject of Nemesis, destiny, intersecting paths, and other lofty matters. There is a German doctor, who all but murders the hero with an anæsthetic called “Woraliform”—readers of “*Waterton’s Wanderings*” will recognise where the name comes from. There is also an artist called Vaux, who supplies some light comedy, and thinks himself

descended from one whom the author calls "the great religious reformer whose apotheosis is celebrated on the fifth of November." The young lady recovers her memory, "by the stimulus of cognate impressions," and we leave them in "the sweet summer sunshine," looking into each other's eyes—as a good many couples have been left, and, it is to be supposed, will continue to be left.

Eight Days. By R. E. FORREST, Author of "The Touchstone of Peril." Three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

STORIES of the Indian Mutiny are generally interesting; the more so when they are written by one who knows the country and the people. Mr. Forrest writes very seriously, and is, perhaps, a little too didactic. He stops every page or two to deliver, in a parenthesis, some weighty saying about the Indian population, the native army, or the British occupation. He is painfully anxious that we should have before our eyes the map of a country, the plan of a town, the position of a fort. Readers of a novel are apt to resent the necessity for hard mental application, and if they cannot understand things without study they give them up. There is another drawback to perfect lucidity in the book before us, and that is the number of young ladies who are introduced at the very beginning, and whose difference from one another, although the author analyses with some care their respective charms, reduces itself in the reader's mind to the difference of their fathers and mothers. When this story first came out serially in the *Cornhill* it was quite impossible to carry over from one month to another the mental and physical characteristics which appertained to the Mays, Mauds, and Beatrices who ornament the tale from the commencement. The work is life-like and soberly written, and in some parts it attains a high degree of interest. The English persons introduced are the ordinary civilians and army men of an Indian station. They strike one as what they are, viz., as more or less educated and prejudiced English people, with all the inordinate pride, frank courage, and innate Paganism of the English character. One does not wonder in the least how it is that the natives fear and hate them; and when the terrible summons of the Mutiny roused them from their haughty repose, whilst we are filled with horror at what is done, we cannot help seeing some kind of retribution in it. This is not what the author intends, but it comes out in his graphic sketch. His study of the people of the country—princes, pundits, Brahmins, high caste and low caste, traders, robbers, and peasants—is the most useful and not the least part of his work. There is evidence in every page that he knows what he is talking about. All that he says, though circumstances have to a great extent altered during the last thirty years, confirms what is now being insisted upon once more—that the English people know comparatively little of the life and mind of the races which compose our enormous Indian Empire. And as long as there is no serious effort made to Christianise them, they must remain a mystery and a danger.

Eric Brighteyes. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. London: Longmans. 1891.

THE author has found a new and congenial field for his genius in revivifying the old Icelandic literature. *Eric Brighteyes* is a modernised saga, and the difficult feat has been performed of transcribing it into a vivid and interesting romance. The subject suits the writer's pen to admiration, as it furnishes him with blood-curdling situations, with marvellous adventures, and with frays sanguinary enough to rejoice the heart of Umslopogaas himself. The hero, who is beautiful beyond the sons of men, performs startling and incredible feats of strength and daring, proving himself irresistible in war as in love. The story turns on the rivalry between the half-sisters, daughters of Asmund Asmundson, Gudruda the Fair, and Swanhilda, the beautiful but malignant witch-maiden. The latter is the evil genius of the tale, contriving by her arts to separate the hero and heroine, to woo the former temporarily to her side, and finally to cause the death of both when she can no longer dissolve their union by other means. The drama is laid in heathen times, before the preaching of Christianity in Iceland had dethroned the gods of Walhalla. The finest descriptive passage, recalling those in some of Mr. Haggard's African romances, is that of the vision of Eric and his thrall the night before their death, in which the forms of all those they have slain pass in weird procession before their eyes. The picture of the Norns, giant shapes of fire throned on the snows of Hecla, weaving the loom of fate, and singing as they wove, while "the voice of the one was as the wind whistling through the pines; the voice of the other was as the sound of rain hissing on deep waters; and the voice of the third was as the moaning of the sea," is an impressive rendering of old Scandinavian belief.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik.*

THE March number opens with a memoir of the late Canon Münzenberger, chief parish priest in Frankfort-on-the-Main, a man who was favourably known for his zealous efforts in propagating the Catholic faith in Protestant parts of Germany, for the establishment of convents, as also for the publication of a learned work on the History of the Christian Altar, of great archæological and liturgical value—a work which, unfortunately, he left unfinished. To his unwearied exertions is also due the restoration of the cathedral at Frankfort. Next we have an article by Dr. Paulus, of Munich,

on "Liberty of Conscience," as understood by two champions of the Reformation, Professors Zanchi and Vermigli. These two claimed for the new religion exclusive right to exist, whilst they denied Catholics all opportunity of exercising their old religion, and by sheer force would have constrained them into becoming Protestants. Dr. Falk, parish priest near Mainz, one of our best scholars in the department of mediæval ecclesiastical history and liturgy, contributes a thoughtful paper on the "Perpetual Adoration in the Middle Ages." As a striking example in Germany, he adduces the Elector Ernest of Saxony, who, August 14, 1480, by public deed, established in the cathedral of Meissen a "perpetual choir or service": choristers, vicars, and canons, day and night, alternately sang the solemn offices. The canons who had their stalls near the electoral grave were called "Grabatarii," and those who had to begin the office at eight o'clock "Octaviani." According to Menzel (*Symbolik*, ii. 382), this perpetual choir must have been practised in the great British monastery of Bangor. Father Zimmermann contributes the conclusion of his series of articles on the condition of English Catholics in the reign of James I. Next we note a critical article dealing with a remarkable work by Father Duhr, S.J., recently published under the title of "Jesuit Fables." The institution of the Society of Jesus, as directed to the subversion of Protestantism, the publication of Maria Theresa's general confession, the poisoning of Clement XIV., the "Monita Secreta," and the alleged dangerous educational principles of the Jesuits—such are the topics treated of in the present volume, which successfully shows up the shameless calumniators of the Society, and traces the history of the "Fables." Should Father Duhr bring this learned work to a conclusion, he will succeed in dissipating many prejudices.

In the May number we have a clever article on the educational principles found in Herbart's philosophy. Whatever opinion one may hold on Herbart's system considered in itself, his pedagogical theory, at least in the form it has received from some of his disciples, certainly testifies to the necessity of denominational schools. An excellent article is contributed by Canon Brück, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the episcopal seminary of Mainz, sketching the life of the late Dr. Heinrich, dean of the chapter, and one of the best theological writers of modern Germany. It is much to be regretted that his famous "*Dogmatische Theologie*," second to no other work in this department for clearness of style and grasp of the most sublime problems of metaphysics and theology, has been left unfinished. Dean Heinrich, too, enjoyed a high reputation as orator and speaker. Next follows an interesting article on General Booth and his Salvation Army, the writer of which has merited well of the German public by putting in its true light the character of this peculiar movement. The title "*Corpus Reformatorum*" is now adopted in Germany for a systematic collection of the writings of the chief Reformers of the sixteenth century. Catholics, so far, have not emulated Protestant example in this respect; but in a

clever article in this number Dr. Falk gives a catalogue of the most prominent defenders of our religion during the Reformation period, and suggests the lines on which their works should be collected and brought out in a critical edition—a thing much to be desired.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

The March number of the “*Blätter*” contains an article on the principal dramas of Schiller, which severely criticises Schiller’s treatment of the history and religious position of the Maid of Orleans; a concluding article on the Life of Cardinal Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen, one of the most influential prelates of contemporary France, according to his biographer, Mgr. Besson; a contribution on recent literature concerning Mary Queen of Scots, in which due praise is bestowed on the great work of the late Kervyn de Lettenhove; and lastly, an article on Ranke, which tests him by his estimate of Christianity, where no Christian of any denomination can follow him with approval.—The April number contains an article on a letter said to have been sent on Luther’s death by a French ambassador in Rome to his Sovereign, in 1545. There seem to be weighty reasons for attributing this pamphlet to German Protestants, perhaps to Luther himself. Another article discusses the new edition of Professor Gutberlet’s philosophic text-books.—The May issue contains a clever article on the actual condition of Protestantism in Würtemberg, where it may, without exaggeration, be asserted that as to dogma general confusion prevails, and, sad to relate, those who govern the Church are influenced by opinions directly at variance with their official confessions. Indeed, the action on recent Protestant theology of the writings of the late Professor Ritschl, and the opinions of Wellhausen on the Old Testament, have resulted in the creation of a sceptical chasm which will never be bridged over. Among other articles in this May number may be mentioned one on the establishment of the Reformation in the German Palatinate; another on the numerous hospitals throughout Germany in Catholic times dedicated to the Holy Ghost; and an article of mine (the first of two on eminent Scotchmen on the Continent) which is devoted to Ninian Winzet, of Linlithgow, Abbot of St. James, Ratisbon. The opportunity for writing on this vigorous champion of the Catholic faith was given by the admirable edition, by Rev. James King Hewison, of Winzet’s “*Certain Tractes*.”

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Avril, 1891. Paris. (Annual subscription, 25 francs within the Postal Union.)

This number of the *Revue* is of more than usual interest, as may be seen from the titles of some of the chief articles: “St. Bernard

and French Royalty ;" " The Duke of Alençon's Conspiracy (1455-1456) ;" " The Accusations against Mary Queen of Scots ;" " The Tennis Court Oath, and the Declaration of the 23rd of June." The shorter articles, too, treat of subjects equally interesting, but are too numerous to be mentioned. I must here confine myself reluctantly to only a selection from the contents.

St. Bernard on Church and State.—Perhaps no man in the Middle Ages was better qualified to deal with the questions which brought kings and ecclesiastics into conflict than the saintly Abbot of Clairvaux. A faithful son of Holy Church, devoted to the See of Rome, a writer well versed in theology and canon law, he was at the same time a statesman engaged in the conduct of affairs, and thoroughly loyal to his country and his king. Such a man was not likely to hold extreme views on the rights either of the State or of the Church. Convinced of the necessity of compromise, he was satisfied with a practical solution of the difficulties. Without going into the abstract question as to which of the two should be subordinated to the other, he recognises that they are distinct, and that each has a province of its own; nevertheless, they lean on each other, and render each other mutual aid. He makes use of the comparison of the two swords (St. Luke xxii. 38), which afterwards became so familiar to mediæval writers, and played so important a part in the bull *Unam Sanctam*. But the saint is by no means responsible for the exaggerated opinions which have been based upon a distortion of the meaning of this text. The present Holy Father has clearly laid down that each of the two powers is supreme in its own sphere: "Ecclesia et civitas suum habet utraque principatum; neutra paret alteri" (*Sapientiæ Christianæ*); and again: "Utraque est in suo genere maxima" (*Immortale Dei*). St. Bernard's object was to show that the Church, not being able by herself to wield the material sword, possessed the right of calling on the State for protection in the exercise of her spiritual functions and in the enjoyment of her temporal possessions. He was far from denying the authority of the Pope over kings; but he derives this authority, not from the subordination of royal power to papal, but from the fact that a king, being a baptized Christian, is thereby subject to the common Father of the faithful. He was well aware that the union of the two powers necessitated great sacrifices on the part of the Church. In return for protection, kings might fairly claim a word in elections to bishoprics and abbeys, provided the freedom of religion was not interfered with. The Abbé Vacandard, the writer of the article, is to be congratulated on his treatment of a difficult subject. He has done well to show that in the Middle Ages the last of the Fathers sketched a line of conduct which even now commends itself to devout ecclesiastics and enlightened statesmen. The whole article is well worthy of study.

Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers.—It has long been the fate of Mary Stuart to be tried by partisans or persecutors. Like Marie Antoinette, the mention of her name stirs men's passions

rather than appeals to their judgment. The Abbé Petit undertakes "coldly and without prejudice" to discuss the chief accusations which are made against her: (1) concerning Riccio, (2) the murder of Darnley and her marriage with Bothwell, (3) Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth. He shrewdly observes that her worst enemies are not the heretics who attack her for her religion, but gallants who will not allow the co-existence of beauty and virtue. To their eyes a fair face and a graceful form are the outward signs of a foul mind and a corrupt heart. Riccio was an able statesman, and devoted to the Queen's interests. It was he who brought about her marriage with Darnley, thereby uniting the two nearest heirs of the English throne. But as her husband was nothing but a contemptible debauchee, it is no wonder that Mary continued to be advised by her faithful minister. Darnley's jealousy was aroused by the nobles, who hated Riccio as a foreigner and a Catholic. Surely we have here sufficient explanation for the murder, without having recourse to scandal. The Abbé Petit has no difficulty in disposing of the weak evidence of the Queen's misconduct. The subsequent assassination of Darnley and Mary's marriage with Bothwell are admirably discussed by him. He takes the documents piece by piece—the alleged letters to Bothwell, and the depositions of the assassins—and clearly shows that the unhappy Queen was the victim of an atrocious libel. The marriage, too, is proved to have been a forced one, celebrated to prevent personal violence, and in deference to the peremptory desires of the nobles. The third accusation—Mary's connivance with Babington's conspiracy—is of a different character from the foregoing charges. It is no great reproach to a captive to have joined in schemes for escape; but as this particular plot is said to have involved the assassination of Elizabeth, Mary's connection with it, if proved, would go far to justify her execution. M. Petit distinguishes carefully between the conspiracy to dethrone the Queen of England and the intent to assassinate her. Both can be traced to the arch-plotter Walsingham, but only the former was entered into by the conspirators. The intercepted correspondence with Mary was, however, manipulated by the English Secretary so as to include the baser project. Great critical acumen is shown by M. Petit in his proof that the letters had been tampered with. He says that his treatment of his subject is "cold." I should demur to this depreciatory epithet. He writes calmly indeed, and without prejudice; but his style has all the grace and chivalry which the memory of the injured Queen has the power of bestowing upon those who engage in her defence.

The Tennis Court Oath.—Legend has been busy with the story of the early days of the National Assembly. The towering genius of Mirabeau, and the momentous character of the interests at stake, have naturally tempted writers to indulge in the heroic rather than in the real. M. Marius Sepet, so well known for his quarterly "chronique" in the *Revue*, has done well to tell the story once more, but stripped of the embellishments which have almost

come to be recognised as history. To any sober mind his account will surely commend itself—nay, it will be seen to be more worthy of the great men who led the Assembly than the mock heroics usually attributed to them.

Mgr. Ricard contributes a most interesting episode in the life of the Abbé Maury.

T. B. SCANNELL.

La Revue Generale, Janvier—Juin, 1891. Brussels. (Subscription within the Postal Union, 15 francs a year, post free.)

The completion of a half-yearly volume of this excellent Belgian review is an opportunity for us to recommend it to notice. During last year and this it has assumed a more animated and interesting appearance. With an editorial committee which includes some of the best Catholic literary men of Belgium, Members, Professors of Louvain and Liège, scientific men, &c., the *Revue Generale* aims at giving solid matter in a sufficiently popular manner, and there is a lightness of touch about some of its very best philosophical and scientific articles which makes them quite attractive reading. The *Revue Generale* also does not despise fiction; each number contains one or two well-selected pieces, and sometimes has a serial story, as, for example, "Papillonne," the last unpublished and a posthumous work of the well-known writer, Zenaïde Fleuriot, continued since April last, and to be completed next month. The editors also announce to be commenced in their July number a new novel with the sufficiently suggestive title of "Mademoiselle Sous-Pliocène," by a writer well known to the readers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Correspondant*, M. Charles d'Héricault. Another feature of the *Revue Generale*, which was introduced last year, and which appears to us to be an excellent one, and deserving of special mention, is a bibliographical supplement with independent pagination, so that it can be cast aside, or bound with or separate from the body of the *Revue*. In this supplementary portion is a very full classified list of Belgian and foreign books, and lists of the articles in the chief quarterly and monthly magazines. The better English and American books and reviews find mention here. Brief but generally careful critical appreciations accompany the announcements of the principal works. The supplement is thus trustworthy, and for general purposes a sufficient bibliographical guide.

It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to give at length an account of any of the articles in the body of the *Revue*. We shall merely mention those which have struck us as best in our reading of the six numbers before us. January opened appropriately with six "Contes de Noël," each by a different writer, and contained, besides, an account of the Congrès des Œuvres sociales of Paris, by C. de Moreau d'Andoy; a very good biographical sketch of Cardinal Newman, by Frédéric de Bernhardt; "Mœurs politiques au Japon," by E. de Groote; and other articles. Two articles in February suffi-

ciently explain themselves: "Les Vagabonds et Dom Bosco," by Ch. Woeste, and "L'Ouvrier Russe," by V. Brants; and a third article, completed in March, "L'Instinct chez les Bêtes," by Maurice Lefebvre, is noteworthy as a study of animal instinct, which is both on sound lines and is attractively written: it is primarily a study of M. J. H. Fabre's "Souvenirs entomologiques." "Les Denrées intellectuelles chez Frère Jonathan," by P. Wauwermans, in April, gives, *apropos* of the new United States Copyright Bill, a foreigner's view of the conflicting interests of British and American authors. The writer judges that the Bill "doit déplacer de Londres vers New York le centre de la librairie en langue anglaise," and that it has degenerated from the high motive which began it, into (so far as its most important disposition goes) "un instrument de protectionnisme mercantile." The June number opens with a useful article by Paul Verhaegen, "Les Sequestrations Monacales en Belgique en 1796," an episode of French rule in Belgium which shows the vile means resorted to by the anti-clericals to spread anti-religious views and vilify the clergy, as a preparation of the public mind for the forcible despoliation of their goods. The chief other papers are: "La Protection de l'Enfance," by Paul Lefebvre; the first of a series of studies on Catholic writers—"Louis Veuillot," by G. Legrand; "L'Arbre de Justice: Mœurs Wallonnes," by the Baron A. de Woelmont; a *compte rendu* of late meetings of the Société Belge d'Economie Sociale, &c.

Notices of Books.

La Passion: Essai Historique. Par Le R. P. M. J. OLLIVIER, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1891. (9 francs.)

THIS interesting attempt to write a truly Catholic and devout historical account of the Passion of our Blessed Lord should be as soon as possible translated into English. We have in Père Ollivier's narrative a history of the last days of our Lord's life, from the Wednesday, when the meeting in the house of Caiaphas decided upon His death, to the resurrection and the succeeding apparitions. The historical part is very full; it is accompanied by an ample commentary which in some cases runs to the length of an *excursus*. Not only are the exact words of the Evangelists incorporated in the text, but the Latin is generally given in the notes. Fathers, theologians, mystics, modern writers, and even non-Catholics, are all laid under contribution; but what will most recommend itself to the clergy and to the

educated laity is the spirit of devotion which breathes everywhere, and the reverence with which the pregnant sayings of saints and contemplatives are cited and in some cases discussed.

The book is beautifully printed, and illustrated with maps and cuts. The style is French, as was to be expected, but sober and comparatively free from mere rhetoric and sentiment. The author does not agree with Sir James Fergusson (to whom, as far as we have observed, he does not refer) in regard to the topography of the Holy City. He follows the traditional view, which places Mount Sion on the western side.

The History of St. Dominic, Founder of the Friars Preachers. By AUGUSTA THEODOSIA DRANE. With Illustrations. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891. (15s.)

THE accomplished author of the well-known works, "Christian Schools and Scholars" and "The History of St. Catherine of Siena," has now published a Life of the saintly founder of the Order to which she belongs. More than thirty years ago she wrote a smaller volume entitled "St. Dominic and the Dominicans," which appeared in Burns & Lambert's popular series. How much the life of St. Dominic has grown in the re-writing may be understood from the fact that in the earlier volume it occupied some two hundred and twenty small pages (the remaining hundred and fifty pages were devoted to a sketch of the Dominican Order), whilst here it covers the whole four hundred and eighty pages of a large octavo volume. In the earlier volume, however, the writer purposely left aside the treatment of such historical topics as the Albigensian war and the foundation of the Inquisition. In the present work she enters at length into such details: and her History of St. Dominic will be found, by those who feel interest either in the Saint or in the character of the century to which he belonged, a very complete and attractive volume. In the preface we are given a list of between twenty and thirty of the chief authorities for the Life of the Saint, beginning with that by Blessed Jordan of Saxony, the Saint's successor in the government of the Order; but this bibliography represents only a small portion of the mass of material used: almost every page of the work itself bears witness to very wide and varied reading.

To St. Dominic is so universally attributed the institution of the Rosary that it will perhaps surprise some that our author has to defend St. Dominic's claim to the honour; and that one of the Bollandists, Father Cuyper, in a dissertation attached to the Bollandists' Life of the Saint concludes that either the Rosary existed long before St. Dominic's time, or else that it was not instituted till the fifteenth century, and then by Blessed Alan. This curious alternative conclusion of the learned Bollandist is based on the silence of the earliest biographers of the Saint. Our author sets herself to vindicate the traditional authorship against Father Cuyper and others, and it seems

to us with success. The Angelic Salutation became a popular prayer about the time of St. Dominic : and once it is agreed that the Rosary dates from his time, it is easy to show its special appropriateness to the Saint's purpose. The Albigenses profaned the Pater Noster by the use they made of it in their pseudo-sacrament, the *Consolamentum*, and in their denial of the Incarnation they spread teaching about the Blessed Virgin offensive in the highest degree. To combine, therefore, the Divine Prayer which was being thus degraded with the Salutation of her whose divine maternity was in the thirteenth as it had been in the fifth century the safeguard of faith in the Incarnation, was a practical way of teaching through devotion—the speediest to influence the popular mind. It was the leading idea of St. Dominic—the idea which gave his Order its special character and influence—that the false doctrines of heretics were only to be radically opposed by the teaching of the true Catholic doctrine. The Rosary was well designed to be, as it were, the popular tract (though it was also more) in days when a book was the luxury of a few. And no doubt there was a similar sense of appropriateness in the penance we read the Saint imposed on many of the repentant Albigenses—to wear crosses for a certain period. The cross was abhorred by those heretics ; we know they often burned it, sometimes heaps of them together. When we remember what a crucifix means in France in districts where the authorities have cleared the schools of them, and burned them in heaps, as did the Albigenses long ago, we understand the significance of a penance which, meaningless at other periods, may then have tested very effectively the reality of a conversion. Our author also successfully vindicates the Saint from imputations of cruelty as Inquisitor. St. Dominic, she affirms, never took part in the condemnation of a heretic, nor even possessed power to do so. The real significance of the one severe penance—that imposed on Ponce Roger—on record as imposed by him, is very fairly discussed and explained.

One chapter in the volume—the last but two—is of special interest to us : “The Dominicans in England.” The Black Friars came to this country in the year of their founder's death, and only a few months before it. The story of their first foundation at Oxford is told in two or three pages. In the same year they were established in London, at Holborn first, where two general chapters were held (1250 and 1263), in the second St. Thomas Aquinas taking an active part ; and later at a site between Ludgate and the river, where now stands Printing House Square. Soon foundations had been made in the great towns, and away westward in the remote valleys of Wales. The conclusion of this chapter may serve as a specimen of the style of this attractive Life, and fittingly conclude our notice of it :

It is to be regretted that such very scanty records have been preserved of the history of the Order in our own land. Foreign writers, when they come to treat of the subject, speak of the inhabitants of these remote islands as we should describe some tribe of the interior of Africa ; and perhaps our own notions of the real conditions of the country at a time separated from our own by six centuries,

and now so utterly revolutionised both socially and religiously, is hardly less vague. It seems like a dream to think of days when St. Thomas (Aquinas) was sitting in council with his brethren in the convent of Holborn, and Blessed Jordan of Saxony was capturing souls in the schools of Oxford; when Blessed Bartholomew of Braganza was negotiating treaties at the English Court, and St. Vincent Ferrer was preaching to the multitudes from those rocks on Clifton Downs which still bear his name; when the white habit of the Friars preachers was worn by some of our greatest prelates, and was a familiar object in the thoroughfares of our great cities, or among the lanes and byways of our country villages. But it is a profitless thing to linger among dreams. Rather will we remind ourselves that the Lord's hand is not shortened, nor does His grace ever fail. The orange-tree of St. Dominic still flourishes at Sta. Sabina, and sends forth new shoots even in the midst of her desecrated cloisters, as though to remind us, when we are disposed to think of the ages of faith as something that have passed away for ever, that even in an unbelieving age God keeps a protecting hand over the ancient faith, the ancient devotions, and the ancient Orders of His Church (p. 453).

L'Œuvre des Apôtres—Fondation de l'Eglise Chrétienne. Par l'Abbé E. LE CAMUS. Paris : Letouzey et Ané. (6 francs.)

THE Abbé Le Camus published some years ago a learned and scholarly "Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The excellent work before us is a fitting sequel to it, and will add considerably to the writer's reputation as an apologist. He is not afraid to face the objections of the Tübingen school and other modern Rationalists, and hence his works have a special critical value; and his extensive erudition is clothed in a style that is both clear and elegant. The present work is divided into three parts. The first, "The Beginnings of the Church in Jerusalem, or the Church and the Jews," gives in seven chapters a picture of the first days of conversions within the Holy City. The second part, "The Manifestation of the Church outside Jerusalem, or the Church and the Hellenists," deals in eight chapters with the origin of the diaconate, and the conversion and early preaching of St. Paul. The third part, "The Enfranchisement of the Church at Antioch, or the Church of the Christians," in twelve chapters, follows the history recorded in the Acts to the detachment of the Church from Judaism at Antioch. An interesting chapter in this part, descriptive of Antioch in the first century, is accompanied by a map of the city, prepared by the author. Before he uses the text of the Acts of the Apostles the author enters into a powerful defence of the authenticity and historical value of the Acts. We warmly recommend his book. It will intensify faith in the divinity of Christianity, and prove a useful help to those who have to defend the divinity of Christianity against modern attacks.

1. *L'Alsace et l'Eglise au temps du Pape Saint Léon IX.* (Bruno d'Egisheim), 1002-1054. Par le P. PIERRE-PAUL BRUCKER, S.J. Two vols. Paris: Retaux-Bray. (9 francs.)
2. *Saint Gregoire VII. et la Reforme de l'Eglise au XI. Siècle.* Par l'Abbé O. DELARC. Three vols., et table alphabétique et analytique. Paris: Retaux-Bray. (21 francs.)

THESE two recent biographies deal with sections of Church history separated by less than twenty years of time, and identical, both as to their political aspect, and as to the character of the special dangers and abuses against which the two Pontiffs contended. We may well, therefore, give them a united welcome, and recommend them to the attention of students. They are both works of that minute and patient original research which raises so much recent French historical writing into the first rank. Both works, too, are excellently brought out by the publishers—printed in good-sized, legible type, on substantial paper; and the volumes on St. Leo IX. are adorned, the one with a portrait of the Pope, and the other with a view of the Château of Egisheim, where he was born—an octagonal castle, with drawbridge and moat, whose mediæval walls were probably themselves a re-erection on older Roman foundations. Père Brucker—whose name, by the way, as one of the Bollandist writers, is of itself a guarantee for the solid and scholarly character of this Life of Leo IX., dedicates initiatory chapters to sketches of Alsace in general, and of Egisheim in particular, and of Bruno's boyish days and home-life there, which are full of archæological erudition. Père Brucker is an Alsatian, and it will be understood that he dwells with a loving tenderness on all the details of its ancient and Catholic life. There is a touching page (xxxvi.) where he claims for the Alsace of to-day that it is still devotedly Catholic and pious.

It is well known that Bruno (afterwards Leo IX.) was selected by Henry III. as candidate for the papal throne. Père Brucker's chapter (vi.) on the Election, places all the incidents of this episode in their true adjustment. It is clear enough, from the fact that Bruno would not accept the dignity until he had presented himself at Rome, and been *chosen* there by clergy and people, that he himself attributed no power of election to Henry; it is not so clear either that Henry liked this act, which left his choice of Bruno a mere designation, or that he would not have liked to hamper the pontifical acts of Leo against simony by considerations of indebtedness to himself for the pontifical dignity. It would be impossible to give an idea of the interest of each page that tells of Leo's active and almost romantic pontificate: his apostolic journeys through Italy, France, Alsace, Flanders; his acts at Reims, Mayence, Cologne, Venice, and most of the important centres of Italy; and the councils he held in numerous places, his campaign against the Normans in Italy, and defeat in the battle of Civitella—these are among the more striking events. Père Brucker defends the recourse of Leo to arms, denies that he was a prisoner of the victorious Normans at Beneventum, or that he gave them in fief

any of the lands they had conquered in Italy and Sicily. Simony was the arch-enemy against which the Pope legislated in so many councils; and we have seldom read anything more terrible in its way than the graphic account in these pages (vol. ii. p. 8 *seq.*) of the acts of a council held at Reims from the 3rd to 6th October 1049. Père Brucker gives a sketch of the location of the bishops who took part in it, around the Pope and before the tomb of St. Remigius, and we note the presence of the Bishop of Wells—not then united to Bath—Duduc, the Saxon. Some of the accusations made in open council against several of the prelates sitting there make one wince. Leo's vigilance was not confined to simony; the condemnation of Berengarius's errors as to the Holy Eucharist is due to him, as also the refutation, and finally the condemnation, of Cerularius. When we add to this varied exterior record that Leo was a man of profound piety, humble, austere to himself, gentle to others, we touch the secret of his power and the highest lesson which his life presents. The one fault we find with Père Brucker's wonderfully complete Life is the absence of an index—a sad omission in a work bristling with details.

The name of Hildebrand is enough to recall the multitudinous accusations that have long been current against him in not only popular but historical literature, and even in that modern historical work of the better kind which is marked by fearless research and the effort to be impartial;—what won't you find said against the terrible Hildebrand, either seriously as in regret, or contemptuously as fact beyond reach of honest doubt? And it has been seriously asserted that but for his severity the Church would ere long after his time have permitted a married clergy! There are indeed few Popes, if there be even one, whose career presents a wider field for the labours of a patient historian. The Abbé Delarc appears to us to possess the qualifications for his great undertaking. His researches have been long prosecuted in all the repertories of sources, whether published or lying in archives and libraries; he has that mastery over an accumulation of evidence which enables him to weave a straightforward narrative. The text, however, is filled with translated extracts from the original authorities, and an abundance of notes enables the student to verify every serious assertion of the text. There is issued in a separate thin volume a very full index, for which the reader will heartily thank the author. The three volumes, only recently sent to us, contain together 1550 pages octavo: it has been impossible yet to read them through; we hope to speak of them another time, and meanwhile must be content to say that, so far as we can see, they are unreservedly to be commended as the work of an able historian. As to theoretical explanations of Gregory's summary acts towards recalcitrant temporal Sovereigns, the author in the same Introduction rejects the theory of a public right recognised at that time, and either by delegation or tacit consent accorded the Pope by mediæval Europe. "*Consentement tacite des peuples*," he says, "*droit public de la chrétienté médiévale, grands mots imaginés après coup*, mais qui ne répondent guère à des réalités historiques du passé; l'érudition montrera au contraire ce qu'il-y-a de

profondément ironique dans de telles expressions appliquées à une telle époque." Gregory himself, he adds, knew nothing of a power purely directive and a right that was transitory and depended on the recognition of the nations: he would not have understood you: "Et vous montrera l'Evangile: là est consigné son droit, là sont tracés ses devoirs." A power of jurisdiction, at least indirectly, over temporal things, founded on revelation and of divine right, goes nearer to being an explanation of Gregory's deeds and of his language.

"*The Story of the Nations.*" *Portugal.* By H. MORSE STEPHENS.
London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891. (5s.)

THE recent disputes arising out of the rival claims of the British and Portuguese colonists in South Africa give a certain *actualité* to Mr. Stephens' work; but apart from this interest derived from passing events, it has a permanent value as a clear popular history of a State that has been the ally of England from the days when English arms first helped the House of Braganza to establish Portuguese independence, down to the later and better known wars in which Portugal supplied the fulcrum for the lever with which Wellington overturned Napoleon's power in the Peninsula. Mr. Stephens does full justice to the glorious chapter of Portuguese history which began with the discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator, and culminated in the exploits of Vasco de Gama, Albuquerque, and Da Castro. He gives the Catholic missionaries credit for their part in the work of exploration and civilisation accomplished by the Portuguese, though he might have said more on this head. In dealing with the Inquisition, and with the policy of Pombal, he does not always rise superior to traditional prejudices. But making due allowance for such defects, the book is a useful one, not the least useful that it may serve as an antidote to some of the ill-judged and ill-natured language lately used towards the Portuguese by a section of the English press. We trust Mr. Stephens will not be altogether disappointed in the hope he expresses—

That a clearer knowledge of the old and tried friendship of the English nation with the Portuguese may influence in some degree the attitude taken by a portion of the English people towards their ancient ally in the dispute with regard to the extent of the Portuguese possessions in Africa.

Like all the series to which it belongs, the book is very well illustrated.

La Morale Catholique, et l'Irresponsabilité Déterministe. Par l'Abbé G. PÉRIES, Docteur en Droit Canonique. Arras. 1891.

THIS able and interesting pamphlet is a reprint of two articles which appeared in the *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* last year. It is a vigorous defence of human liberty against determinism, which (as it truly says) is urged upon us now by writers of all kinds, from philo-

sophers to novelists. A special feature of the essay is the attention which is given to the relations of insanity, alcoholism, hypnotism, &c., to free-will, and M. Péries shows that he has studied the extensive literature of the subject thoroughly and intelligently. The chief objection we have to make to it is its brevity; a fault, if any, on the right side. This is probably why the author is obliged to be a little too sweeping in his statement of his opponents' views, and hardly allows for the qualifications with which they would modify them. So, too, in his desire to be brief, he has not made it plain to which of the great schools which exist in the Church he belongs. There is much difference in meeting objections of the present day, whether one follows the Jesuit teaching, that the essence of free-will consists in being able to choose the less desirable of two objects, or the Dominican view, which bases liberty upon the power of the will to check deliberation at any stage. It is to be hoped that M. Péries may have the opportunity of filling in these omissions in a larger and more important work, for which he is evidently excellently qualified.

The Oracles of God. Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration, and on the Special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. By W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., LL.D. London: Longmans. 1891. (4s.)

SIX of the lectures in this volume were delivered by Dr. Sanday last year as Oxford Preacher at Whitehall, the last three being given at Oxford. Any work of his is sure to show learning and ability, and will be read by the student with interest, though we should have preferred to meet him in his own special province rather than in the more general one he has here chosen. He deals with the results of recent criticism of the Old Testament, and, accepting the concessions of the school represented by Professors Cheyne and Driver, seeks to discover how far the doctrines of inspiration current among non-Catholics are affected thereby. As the evidence for these conclusions is not here before us, we will content ourselves with briefly stating Dr. Sanday's line of thought, remarking only on one or two details.

He begins by urging that the recent criticism, which he supposes proved, does not affect the validity of the teaching of the Old Testament in any point of importance, nor its prophetic witness to Christ on the whole (though there may be some change in the interpretation of particular prophecies); but he admits that it does affect our conception of the Old Testament as the vehicle of revelation. That is to say, the tendency is to believe the human element in the Bible is larger than had been supposed. The Divine element in the Old Testament is shown to be claimed in every part thereof. The consciousness of the sacred writers themselves, that the words they spoke were put into their mouths by God, is "a point where criticism must come to a standstill." Speaking generally, the Divine element in Holy Scripture

is considered to be its prophetic portion, while the historical parts are looked upon as the human element, the two shading off into each other by almost insensible degrees. One lecture (the eighth) is devoted to considering the bearing of our Lord's language on these views as to the origin and authorship of the books of the Old Testament.

Dr. Sanday rejects the explanation some have offered, that when our Lord attributed the Law to Moses and a Psalm to David, He accommodated His language to current notions, knowing them to be false, preferring to think that "He condescended not to know," such ignorance being part of the "exinanitio" of the Incarnation.

The last lecture is on "The Special Value of the Old Testament at the Present Time." Its object is to popularise the teaching of the German so-called "historical" school, of which Ritschl was the founder, and A. Harnack is the most prominent representative. The leading idea is that Catholicism grew up in the period after the Apostles, through defective understanding of St. Paul and of the Old Testament, and through the influence of Greek ideas. "St. Augustine (partially) and the Reformers (again partially) re-discovered St. Paul, and I will make bold to add that the full re-discovering and the full appropriating of the Old Testament are the special problem of our own day."

With this Dr. Sanday connects Dr. Hatch's Hibbert Lectures on the influence of Greek thought on Christianity, and he concludes by urging a more careful study of the Old Testament, especially of the Prophets, as a necessary means of understanding the New. With this conclusion we are not disposed to quarrel, and we gladly note that our author appears to endorse Harnack's teaching, that the Catholic system is at least as old as the days of St. Irenæus and Origen. But when we come to consider the view in itself, objections crowd upon us, which we can only indicate here. We think Dr. Sanday ought in fairness to have told his hearers that the hypothesis of Ritschl and his school is based upon the assumption of a very different form of primitive Christianity than he would be himself disposed to assert. Again, one of Ritschl's chief points is the inability of St. Clement of Rome to master the Old Testament background of St. Paul's teaching, whereas it is more likely that Father was himself a convert from Judaism than a Gentile. Of course no one will deny the great and, as we should say, providential influence of both Greek and Roman thought on the development of the Church. But the striking contrast of Catholicism with those heresies which were developed under excessive Greek influence (Gnosticism), or cut the connecting-link with the Old Testament (Marcionism), is the best evidence how limited Hellenic influence, after all, was in the Church.

There is an interesting Appendix on "The Date of the Psalter." Dr. Sanday argues from the text which must have been used by the writers of the New Testament, and from the titles of the Psalms, that the Psalter must have been completed at an earlier date than modern critics are disposed to allow.

1. *Trade Unionism, New and Old.* By GEORGE HOWELL, M.P. London : Methuen & Co. 1891. (2s. 6d.)
2. *Problems of Poverty.* By JOHN A. HOBSON, M.A. London : Methuen & Co. 1891. (2s. 6d.)

MESSRS. METHUEN are publishing a series of twelve handy volumes on "Social Subjects of To-day," under the editorship of Mr. H. de B. Gibbins—and these are the first two which appear. Mr. George Howell's views are pretty well known to all who have read his "Conflicts of Capital and Labour." In the present work he enters into a minute description of the "new" Trades Unionism, and lets it be clearly seen that his sympathies are not in favour of its methods. For the rest we have an interesting sketch of the "organisation" of labour in this country from the days of the Catholic Guilds downwards.

Mr. Hobson treats of the poor and their condition; what is meant by "Poverty"; what effect machinery has had on the working-classes; the influx of the population into large towns; "sweating," its causes and its remedies; the condition of women who work; and "socialistic legislation." The book seems to be marked by moderation and good sense. It closes with a valuable list of works and papers on the Social question. If Mr. Charles Booth's second volume of "The Labour and Life of the People" had been out when these pages were written, some passages would have been modified and some expanded.

If this series goes on as it has begun, its volume will form a most useful commentary on the Encyclical on the Labour Question.

Celui Qui Est. Essai par FRÉDÉRIC DE CURLEY, S.J. Paris : Victor Retaux et Fils. (Ancienne Maison Retaux-Bray). 1891.

THE subject of this philosophical essay (an octavo volume of 350 pages) is that natural knowledge of God, which is the completion of science and a first preliminary of faith. It is a subject, the author affirms in his preface, which is much neglected within the ranks of orthodoxy, whilst from outside it is violently attacked. The *libres penseurs*, he says, "direct all their batteries against the Existence of God. And from the point of view of polemic and apology, this question is *the* great question—it may be called the unique question." Although this may not be true here, as it is in France, yet a good treatise in a living language on the existence of God is not without value and interest in England. Father De Curley uses the old scholastic arguments wherever available, but restates them with reference to modern scientific facts and difficulties; and his style of writing is simple and straightforward. The book is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with those verities which must be pre-supposed, prior to any demonstration of God's existence; and we have chapters on Scepticism, Certitude, Essence, Existence, Sensation, &c. The

second part—the demonstration—consists in three propositions of advancing importance: the first is, The World has a Creator; the second, The Creator of the World is an Intelligence; the third, The Creator-Intelligence exists *per se*. The first proposition is proved from the nature of finitude and number, and then more directly by the old argument of “motion”—*omne quod movetur ab alio movetur*. This portion of the work is specially valuable and interesting. The second proposition is demonstrated by arguments from the nature of chance and of order, and by the argument that the intelligence postulated by the order prevailing in the world is not itself in the world, but is an intelligence distinct from it. The third proposition affirms the existence of God since this Creator-Intelligence which the world demands must exist *a se*. The work concludes with a moving “Elevation” to that God whom the human mind can find in the world, His creation, and whom the human heart must love; having been created for Him, in Him alone will its affections find full rest. Father De Curley’s book is a piece of sustained and cogent reasoning. We believe there is neither a note or reference to, or an extract from, an authority throughout the volume; the author appeals to reason, and works out his appeal by arguments alone—many of them, as we have said, the old class-book proofs restated.

The Sinless Conception of the Mother of God. A Theological Essay. By FREDERIC GEORGE LEE, D.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891. (15s.)

IN this volume an Anglican clergyman defends and explains for the benefit of his fellow-Protestants the Catholic dogma of Our Lady’s Immaculate Conception. It is a remarkable volume, for the author is neither apologetic nor hesitating in his language about the Blessed Virgin. On the contrary, he inveighs against Protestant prejudices, and boldly adopts both Catholic teaching and language. The statement and defence of the dogma is made with considerable fulness, and with large illustration of patristic and theological quotation; and is sufficiently correct and in accord, in its main points, with our own theological language. The author even claims as a duty from Protestants their acceptance of the dogma because the “Father of the Faithful”—whom he elsewhere calls “Authority”—has defined it! And he treats his readers to a translation in full of the Pope’s Bull “*Ineffabilis*” (Pius IX., 1854), which will be very valuable, if only they will carefully peruse it. His own explanation, we trust, will help to dissipate prevailing misconceptions of Catholic teaching on this point, and to encourage devotion to Our Lady. The book presents to us inconsistencies—inevitable from the author’s peculiar position. But we need not dwell on them. May she reward him, in her own way, “Whose gracious patronage and protection now and at the hour of death,” he says in his Dedication, “he constantly and earnestly asks.”

Little Manual. For the private use of the Brotherhood and Confraternity of EXPIATION. Second edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

THE Confraternity of Expiation, by which it is sought to spread over wider area the spirit and essential work of the Brotherhood (founded in London in 1886, under the direction of the Cardinal Archbishop) is organised for "the enrolment of all those who sigh and mourn for all the abominations that are committed upon the earth." It takes a view of the world in Faith; it seeks to help the work in a spirit of Faith by self-sacrifice, penance, and prayer in the spirit of expiation. The Holy Father has blessed the work of Expiation, and augurs for it that it will do much to draw down the merciful compassion of God on His erring children. The manual, which the Cardinal Archbishop recommends, contains a choice variety of devout prayers, ejaculations, practices, and readings, both new and old. It is admirably adapted for general use as a prayer-book, and more especially for fostering a spirit of expiatory penance.

Eléments de Droit Naturel. Par DON RAPHAEL DE CEPEDA, Traduit de l'Espagnol par Aug. Onclair. Paris: Retaux-Bray. 1890. (7 francs.)

THE author of this valuable manual (a volume of 600 octavo pages) is Don R. de Cepeda, the Professor of Natural Law in the University of Valencia, and his work in the original Spanish enjoys already a deservedly high reputation. The French translation, excellently made by a priest well known for translations of various similar works, has been made from the second Spanish edition. The field of Natural Law is a wide one, and embraces a vast number of important questions. The present volume presents a surprisingly complete conspectus of it, and the treatment, though necessarily brief, is solid and interesting. A glance over the subject-matter of the Lessons (in which form the "Elements" is written) will best give an idea of the character and the importance of the topics discussed. The doctrine, it need not be said, is that of Christian and Catholic teaching and tradition, and should recommend itself to others than Catholics by its precision and sobriety, more particularly at a time when social questions so ardently discussed are often imperfectly if not wrongly appreciated. The main headings, forming the great divisions of the book are: "Morale Générale," which is preliminary, as is also the "partie Générale" of the body of the work, in which are discussed such questions as the existence and character of social order, the necessary connection of law with morals, and an *exposé* and refutation of the varied erroneous systems of Natural Law; "Individual Rights," which is subdivided into—1, Natural (*Innés*), and 2, Acquired; "Social Right," under which head the subdivisions are—Domestic Society, the Family and Marriage; the Rights of Children and of Parents; Moral and Social Mission of the Family; Inheritance, &c.; "The

State" (its nature, origin, object, and the extent and character of the "civil power"), and various questions as to the nature, limits, &c., of the relation of the civil power to individuals, the family, and the "classes"—especially labour legislation—and as to the duty of the State as regards public morality and education; "Forms of Government," "International Law," and lastly "Church and State," a portion of the work expedited much too briefly for its importance, perhaps because here the author began to verge on the subject-matter of other professors.

"Human Acts and Freewill," "The Nature and Basis of Morality," "The Nature of Responsibility," "The Necessity of Law," "The Character of the Eternal and Natural Law," "The Force and Obligations of Conscience," these are the subjects of half a dozen of the preliminary Lessons. Whether such topics are as near being of "popular" interest in England as among more metaphysical people abroad may be doubted; but to adduce no other consideration, the way—too often lamentable—in which these very topics are dogmatised on in much of our newspaper and periodical literature, is enough proof of the value to English readers of a reliable manual such as this. The same remark applies, perhaps, even more urgently at the moment to our author's Lessons on the "Natural or Inborn Rights of Man" (pp. 183–227), where he proves the existence, inalienability, and also the limits of these rights. He deals with them in detail as follows: The Right—1, to Live; 2, of Legitimate Defence; 3, of Property; 4, of Personal Dignity (so often abused in the relations of employer and employed, hours of labour, &c.); 5, Liberty of Conscience; 6, of Independence (the right every man has to a legitimate free exercise of his powers, and appropriation of the fruits and results thereof, &c.—a "lesson" which is illustrated by the present Papal Encyclical "On the Condition of Labour"); and, 7, the Right of Association. It will be seen that for a further study of some of the most vital questions treated by the Holy Father in his last and former Encyclical Letters (to the principles laid down in which our author makes frequent reference), there could scarcely be a more opportune book, nor, within its limits, a better than Don de Cepeda's "Elements de Droit Naturel." It is now within reach of countless readers to whom Spanish is unknown; but if any one would translate it into English, amplifying here and there, if he would, with a view to the special needs of the English "general reader," he would confer a boon on his generation.

Le Prêtre et la Vie d'Etude. Par M. L'ABBE MOUSSARD. Paris: Retaux-Bray. 1890.

THIS is the earnest appeal of an aged priest to the levites and younger members of the priesthood for a life of study. The dangers of an unoccupied life (unoccupied, that is, beyond professional duties that do not fill the day) and the dangers of allowing other interests than books to become, instead of diversions, occupations; and

the pleasure, the advantages of study, and even the necessity of it for the priest of modern times, are set forth with much force; every assertion being enforced by the words and examples of the saintly and wise in every century. Making all due allowance for the difference between the missionary life of priests in these countries, and the life of the French clergy of to-day, very much of what the Abbé Moussard says will be found practical and valuable everywhere. So also will the author's further chapters on the kinds of study a priest should choose for his own, the order of preference, and the rules of study. These last are evidently the fruit of a long experience; the rules for acquiring a foreign language are certainly noteworthy and valuable. We would only suggest to the venerable author a fuller bibliography, and an Index—a desideratum in a book so full of reference and titles.

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

1. *St. Catherine of Siena. St. Aloysius Gonzaga.* By the Rev. FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J., 1d. each. *The Ven. Jean Baptiste Vianney, Curé d'Ars.* By KATHLEEN O'MEARA, 6d.
2. *Woman's Work in the African Missions.* By EDITH RENOUF. *The Precious Blood.* Short Meditations for July. By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. *Pearls from the Hidden Treasure of Holy Mass.* By BLESSED LEONARD of Port Maurice, 1d. each.
3. *Missing Links. A Tangled Tale. The Gains of Speculation. The Empire of Man.* By the Rev. JOHN GERARD, S.J., 1d. each.
4. *The Three Claims. Abstinence and Moderation* (each 2s. per 100).

1. **T**HE C.T.S.'s publications multiply so fast that it is not easy to keep count, or give more than mere mention of them. Numbers here do not, however, imply deterioration of quality, and we are glad to learn from the Society's last Report (1890-91) that up to the present almost the only one of their numerous publications which has failed to sell is their "Annual"—the publication of which is to be discontinued for the present. The three little works above are biographies of interest, and deserve to be largely read. That of St. Aloysius appears appropriately for the Saint's Centenary. The special claim to notice which Miss O'Meara's life of the Curé of Ars has, is the charming ease and simplicity of her narrative. This Life of the saintly and remarkable priest deserves to be very popular.

2. Miss Renouf's *brochure* gives an interesting account of the new order of women, the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa, established by Cardinal Lavigerie. The Sisters will devote themselves, some to hospital work, some to following in the footsteps of the missionary priests, and working for the instruction and help of African women and children. Among polygamous tribes the missionary can have no communication with native women. "Christian women only can bring the blessings of Christianity to their African sisters." This well-written

exposé of their work is intended to arouse interest in it—also to move the generous to subscriptions. The other little works named above sufficiently explain themselves.

3. In these excellent papers the author of "Science and the Scientists" extends his criticism and refutation of the theories of those scientists, so called, and notably of the evolutionists, whose knowledge does not rise to the level of their imagination. His method of meeting plausible theory with hard facts is admirable. The papers are full of information, which Father Gerard has the happy knack of conveying in a charming style, but always with a sustained ability which is an evidence of the extent of his own close observation of nature's laws.

4. These are two tracts for distribution. The first in catechetical form gives brief refutation of the three Anglican Claims known as Branch Theory, the Continuity Theory, and the Claim of Apostolical Succession. It is an able and effective tract. The second, which is signed with the name of Mr. C. Kegan Paul, is an earnest plea for a widespread adoption of total abstinence, even among those who know they have the power to use drink without abusing it. Moderation of statement and an intensely earnest tone characterise this well-written paper.

Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer. An Examination into its Origin and Early History, with an Appendix of Unpublished Documents. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., O.S.B., and EDMUND BISHOP. Second Edition. London: John Hodges. 1891. (12s.)

JUST in time for a line of welcome, comes the second edition of this valuable work. That a second edition should be required within nine months of its first appearance is a gratifying sign of the interest it has evoked. As the new edition is substantially a reprint, it is needful here to call attention only to the Preface to it, which is new. One of the points raised by the authors in this Preface is specially interesting. In his judgment of November last, in the Bishop of Lincoln's case, the Archbishop of Canterbury gave prominence to the theory of an influence having been exercised on Cranmer and the Prayer-book by an edition of Isidore of Seville, which appeared in 1534, and in the Dedication of which (to Dr. Robert Ridley) Cranmer was named as "*vir eruditus et theologus insignis*"—Joannes Cochleus was its editor. This theory of Isidorean influence, the authors say they had examined previous to their first edition, and had concluded not to notice it, as "*devoid of any foundation in fact.*" They now, however, deal with it in some detail. First they point out that St. Isidore's work ("*De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*"), which the Archbishop thus refers to, "*is not a Liturgy in any sense, but an exposition, and often a mystical interpretation of ecclesiastical life and practice.*" They proceed, however, to give in full the chapter on the Mass and prayers, parallel with Mr. Burbidge's arguments for their influence on Cranmer's Prayer-book. We quote the summing up (not the process,

for which the reader must be referred to their pages) of their deliberate conclusion :

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the whole of St. Isidore's work runs directly counter to the line of ecclesiastical policy which Cranmer and his friends were forcing on the nation during Edward's reign ; and that he could not have looked to it as a guide in the revision of the Communion Service of 1552. The key to this, the authors believe, is to be found in Cranmer's own works.

The material appearance of this volume calls for a word of acknowledgment. Paper is substantial and type clear, and the plan adopted by Mr. Hodges of bringing out these volumes with gilt tops is one which—as a preventative against dust—we wish publishers would more generally adopt.

Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. By B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Durham. London : Macmillan & Co. 1891.

DR. WESTCOTT explains in the Preface to this volume that the essays it contains are only fragments of a larger design. He had intended, by examining the teaching of all the leaders of religious thought in the West, to show how far the Gospel satisfies our national aspirations. The subject is excellently fitted to Dr. Westcott's keen sympathy even with forms of thought which are not his own, while the Catholic reader will not be puzzled by the vagueness of expression which hinders his enjoyment of the Bishop of Durham's other works. The five first essays in the volume originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, and may therefore be known to the reader. Three of them deal with pre-Christian subjects—the Myths of Plato, Æschylus, and Euripides—and these express, with great beauty, the feeling of the Greek mind in its different stages, after a divine guide and supernatural assistance; the “testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae.” One very sympathetic chapter is devoted to the so-called Dionysius the Areopagite, the beauty of whose thoughts is recognised, in spite of the husk of florid rhetoric which clothes them.

With the essay on “Origen and Christian Philosophy” we should be in less general agreement. Not that we desire to stint the praise bestowed on the principles and spirit, as distinguished from the opinions, of that great thinker. But we should side more decidedly with St. Augustine in the comparison which our author draws between the two Fathers, where his sympathies are evidently with Origen.

The remaining essays have never before appeared in print. The one on “Some Points in Browning's View of Life” is a very careful analysis of the moral teaching of that poet. Dr. Westcott points out that Browning's general subject is the Divine element made known to us by the struggles of the human soul. The main truths taught by the poet, and beautifully illustrated from his works, are “that life must be treated as a whole, that learning comes through suffering, that every failure felt to be failure points to final achievement; that the invisible present is but one scene in an illimitable growth.”

"The Relations of Christianity to Art" deals with a wider and more debated subject. Dr. Westcott's purpose is to show that Christianity had to recognise and to reconcile the contrasted aspects of imitative art which had found expression in Judaism and Hellenism. "Christian art embodies the twofold conception of the spiritual destiny of the visible, and of a spiritual revelation through the visible. The central fact of the Christian faith gives a solid unity to both truths." The historical facts adduced are almost all derived from Catholic authors; and the conclusions, with few exceptions, such as we should draw.

"Christianity as the Absolute Religion" is an eloquent vindication of the power that Christianity possesses to satisfy all the needs of the human intelligence and will, summing up, as it does, all the separate excellences of other religions.

The last essay, on Benjamin Whichcote, is the least interesting of the series. He was the Provost of King's College during the Commonwealth, and his chief claim to notice seems to be that he was a precursor of the Cambridge Platonists, and of Shaftesbury.

Studies in the Arthurian Legend. By JOHN RHYS, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1891.

WE may recommend Professor Rhys's learned book to students of Welsh literature. He takes great pains in tracing the origin of the various legends connected with King Arthur. The character of the work is its extremely tentative and, if we may use the word, hesitating character. Professor Rhys settles nothing, though he makes a number of suggestions and draws out a great many analogies. Even the Solar Myth theory itself, which in his Hibbert Lectures on Celtic Heathendom he applied to the Arthurian cycle, he now seems to be very uncertain about, though he uses its term throughout the present publication. The book is not easy reading, for the Professor has not the gift of clearness, and Welsh legends are somewhat confusing.

The Expositor's Bible. London: Hodder and Stoughton. (7s. 6d. each vol.)

THIS series of publications, the work of eminent theological scholars, whilst based upon the most recent results of Biblical research, is intended to have a more or less popular character. "The Book of Isaiah," the author has divided into two volumes, taking advantage of the break that occurs after chapter xxxix. He bases his comments upon a careful study of the Hebrew text, and in most cases where he gives a translation of the original, the translation is entirely his own. He alludes in several places to the belief of the Jews in a future state, and discusses the much controverted meaning of the word *sheol*. We cannot agree with the learned author that the Jews held the very unsubstantial views he attributes to them in

regard to the condition of men after death. Neither does he seem to us to do justice to the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah. Whilst himself believing in the Divinity of Jesus Christ, he would persuade his readers that they must not look to Isaiah for any prophetic announcement of the coming of the Son of God. "Just because we know the proofs of the Divinity of Jesus to be so spiritual, do we feel the uselessness of looking for them in prophecies." Dr. Plummer has brought out the volume on "The Pastoral Epistles." Every one knows that the epistles referred to under this title are the two to Timothy, and the epistle to Titus. Dr. Plummer is convinced of the genuineness of all three. They were never called in question, he says, from the first century to the nineteenth, and at the present day, whilst a majority of scholars decide in their favour, those that are opposed to them are hopelessly at variance with one another. In connection with the well-known passage, "Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching," &c. (2 Tim. iii. 16), Dr. Plummer gives his views on Inspiration. He does not believe in verbal inspiration, nor does he think that inspiration overrides the personal characteristics of the inspired writers; so far we agree. Then he goes on rather farther than we can follow. "Inspiration does not preserve the inspired writers from every kind of mistake. That it guards them from error in respect to matters of faith and morality, we may well believe, but whether it does more than this remains to be proved." The author's views on the origin of the Christian ministry, and other subjects, though we are not always in accord with them, are not without interest. He has compiled the volume with much care and labour, and the tone of the book is in pleasing contrast with the too prevalent rationalistic teaching of the day.

Mary of Nazareth. A Legendary Poem. By Sir JOHN CROKER BARROW, Bart. London: Burns & Oates. (2s. 6d. net.)

AS each of the three parts appeared, in which "Mary of Nazareth" was first issued, we praised the devout spirit and graceful melody of the verses. We are glad to see it now appear in one volume, which is neatly bound in cloth, in which form (still better in richer bindings) it will make an excellent gift-book. His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop has written to its author a thoughtful appreciation of the poem, which, as it is in print, it is permissible for us to quote:

"Mary of Nazareth" is a beautiful and devout poem, and will, I believe, be very instructive, especially to those who come into the Church and have never known the sanctity, the sorrows, the dignity, and the glory of the Mother of God. You have drawn it all out in a way so plain, and so clearly based upon the Apostle's Creed that, I believe, it will be not only a poem but an instruction. Let me therefore thank you for both.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *The Blessed Sacrament, and the Church of St. Martin at Liège.* By Dean CRULS. Translated from the French by WILLIAM S. PRESTON. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. London: Burns & Oates.
2. *The Hidden Life of Jesus.* By HENRI-MARIE BOUDON. Translated by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. Third edition.
3. *The Interior of Jesus and Mary.* By Rev. J. GROU, S.J. (translated). Edited, with a Biographical Sketch and Preface, by Rev. S. A. FRISBEE, S.J. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. Two vols. 1891.
4. *The Science of the Saints in Practice.* By JOHN BAPTIST PAGANI, O.C. Second edition, 3 vols. London: Burns & Oates. 1891. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
5. *The Life and Labours of St. Wilfrid, Bishop of York.* By Rev. M. P. HORGAN, Hainton, Lincolnshire. Louth: J. W. Goulding. 1889.
6. *Legends of English Saints.* By Rev. M. P. HORGAN. Louth: J. W. Goulding. 1890.
7. *The Life of the Blessed Angelina of Marseiano, Virgin.* Compiled from Ancient Monuments by Hon. Mrs. A. MONTGOMERY. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
8. *A Novena in Honour of St. Catharine de Ricci.* By the DOMINICAN SISTERS. With Preface by Rev. J. O'NEIL, O.P. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1891.
9. *The Holy Face of Jesus.* By the Abbé J. B. FOURNAULT. With Notice by the Right Rev. Mgr. PRESTON, D.D., LL.D. Benziger Brothers. 1891.
10. *Counsels of St. Angelo to her Sisters in Religion.* Benziger Brothers. 1891.
11. *The Heart of Jane-Frances de Chantal.* With Preface by Right Rev. Mgr. T. S. PRESTON, D.D. Benziger Brothers. 1891.
12. *Catechetical Instructions of ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.* From the Italian by Right Rev. F. S. CHATARD, D.D. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

13. *The Gate of Heaven.* London : Burns & Oates, Limited. New York : Catholic Publication Society Company. 1891.
14. *Mary in the Epistles ; or, The Implicit Teaching of the Apostles concerning the Blessed Virgin contained in their writings.* By the Rev. THOMAS LIVIUS, C.SS.R., M.A. London : Burns & Oates. 1891.

1. **T**HE town of Liège is for ever associated with the feast of Corpus Christi ; and it is touching to think that the Church of St. Martin still keeps up that pre-eminence in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament which it naturally attained when, half way through the thirteenth century, the visions of St. Julienne induced the Bishop of Liège to celebrate there for the first time the festival which all the world has celebrated since. The Doyen of St. Martin, Mgr. Cruls, devotes a pious and learned volume to the history of St. Julienne and of the Church he loves so well ; and Mr. Preston has given a good translation.

2. This reprint of Mr. Healy Thompson's translation of Boudon's "Hidden Life" sadly reminds us that the accomplished Catholic writer who, for more than forty years, laboured with untired pen to enrich our English devotional literature, has gone to his reward within the last few weeks. Of all the scholars whom the Oxford movement gave to the Church there has been none, perhaps, who was more emphatically a man of letters. He never wrote a bad sentence or used a doubtful word. As for his piety, that constantly recurring aspiration and motto of Boudon himself,—“God only ! God only !”—may best describe the life of one who was content to be hidden from the world and to labour for the advancement of God's kingdom. May he rest in peace !

3. The English version of Père Grou's "Interior of Jesus and Mary" is well known to English Catholics. The work has a peculiar interest, as having been written at Lulworth for his penitent, the daughter of Mr. Thomas Weld. Father Frisbee offers a new edition, which, he says, both editor and publishers have endeavoured to make more worthy of acceptance.

4. This useful re-issue of a popular spiritual book is well got up in three volumes. An attempt has been made to bring it up to date by giving their proper titles to the recently canonised and beatified servants of God ; but this has not been thoroughly done, and we have sometimes the "Venerable" Margaret Mary and the "Blessed" Benedict Joseph still. Why is "Labre" uniformly spelt with an accent on the final letter ? It would have been a great improvement if some one had taken the trouble to give the references to Father Pagani's interesting extracts. And has it been noticed that there are several repetitions in the work ? As an instance, we may cite the long account of the holy Virgin St. Agnes, which figures both under "Chastity" and again under "Divine Love."

- 5, 6. A versified Life of St. Wilfrid, with no pretensions to
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poetry, and a series of "Legends" of British or English Saints, which are not quite so bad. It is an enigma why the reverend author, who is evidently able to use varied, picturesque, and vigorous English, should choose to spoil his work by cutting his sentences into mechanical lengths with rhymes.

7. This beautiful little volume relates, in Mrs. Montgomery's well-known style, the history of a Saint of the days of Fra Angelico and St. Anthony of Padua. It is an original sketch of great interest, illustrated with all the colour and character of the period.

8. St. Catharine de Ricci is the patroness of the Sisters of the Third (Conventual) Order of St. Dominic. This devout Novena brings out her special characteristics of contemplation and penance.

9. The Archbishop of New York authorises this Manual of Devotions to the Holy Face of Jesus. Its contents are very suggestive.

10. The numerous Ursuline communities will welcome this tiny volume, containing a translation of St. Angela Merici's last will to the directresses of the Congregation, and her last Counsels.

11. The daughters of St. Francis de Sales and others have in this book a series of thirty-one considerations on the spirit of St. Jane Frances, together with several of her forms of prayers, and other memorials of her sanctity.

12. A translation of St. Cyril's first two "Catechisms" on the Real Presence and the Mass. The *brochure* is beautifully got up, and is enriched with several very interesting representations from the Catacombs illustrative of the Holy Eucharist.

13. We have received two copies, variously bound, of this handsome and attractive little prayer-book. It seems to contain all that the ordinary Christian can require, including the Marriage Service and the Rite of Burial. It is approved by the Cardinal Archbishop. In the "Hail! holy Queen" (p. 249), the semicolon in the second line should be a comma, as the second "Hail" belongs to the words which follow.

14. As this book is considered by its author to be devotional rather than controversial it finds its place here. After six "introductory" chapters, occupying about one-third of the work, Father Livius arrives at his subject proper, and dedicates the remaining two-thirds to a commentary on such passages of the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John as he considers to refer "implicitly" to our Lady. It is clear at the outset that the author uses the word "implicitly" in a very wide and loose sense. One proposition is said to be "implied" in another when one at least of its terms is a part of the extension or comprehension of a term of the latter. Thus "Napoleon is mortal" is implied in the proposition "man is mortal," because "Napoleon" is part of the comprehension of the term "man." But when Father Livius quotes St. Paul, and says "Abraham believed God," and continues, "How well and truly might we not here substitute the name of Mary for Abraham," and then in fact does so substitute it for several pages, it is somewhat loose to say that all this is

"implied" in the Apostle's words; for it is conceivable that if our Lady had been totally different those words would still have been true. This being understood, the reader will find in these pages a large variety of devotional matter, partly drawn from the Fathers, and partly the author's own. There can indeed be no doubt that all the glowing and profound words, phrases, and reasonings of St. Paul on faith and grace, on the spiritual life, and on the union of the soul with Christ, are verified in the most transcendent way in most Holy Mary. If the application to her of such passages did nothing else, it would serve to suggest to the devout mind thoughts which of all thoughts are the most sublime in regard to her prerogatives, her power, and her glory.

In the introductory chapters the author takes occasion to show the fallacy of arguing against devotion to the Blessed Virgin from the silence of the Epistles and of the New Testament generally. He explains what must have been the oral teaching of the Apostles about Mary, and gives reasons for their not speaking of her more fully in their writings. Father Livius hardly does justice by his style to the excellence of his thought. We quote one sentence: he is repeating the well-known but necessary principle that a doctrine may develop as time goes on; he says:

For principles of objective truth to become subjective, that is to say, for them to practically energise and give a form to man's moral action, they must needs go through a certain process of assimilation with the thoughts and intelligence wherewith they come in contact; and consequently there is required some fitting preparedness of mind and heart in those who receive the principles, together with such extrinsic opportuneness as will call forth their energy into practical working, and make manifest their due and normal effects (pp. 56, 57).

There is gold here, but a good deal of quartz besides.

* * The original Italian Edition of the following work, noticed by us in its French translation in October, 1890: "*Les Critères Théologiques*," by Canon Salvatore di Bartolo, was placed on the Index by a Decree of May 21, 1891: "*auctor laudabiliter se subjecit, et opus reprobavit.*"

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

[Notices of many of the following are necessarily held over to October, from pressure on our space this quarter.]

"L'Eglise et la Question Sociale." Etude sur l'Encyclique "De la condition des Ouvriers." Par G. Pascal, Docteur en Theologie. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

"The Early Martyrs." Sixth Edition. "Life of St. Philip Neri." Fourth Edition. "Franciscan Martyrs in England." Second Edition. "The Life of St. Thomas Becket." Third Edition; with Memoir of the Author. Uniform re-issue of Mrs. Hope's Works. London: Burns & Oates.

"The Letters of Father George Porter, S.J., Archbishop of Bombay." London: Burns & Oates.

"Life of Father John Curtis, S.J. By the author of "Tyborne." Revised by Father Edward Purbrick, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

"Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica." Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism. By Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

"Le Nouveau Testament et les Origines du Christianisme." Etudes apologetiques. Par le Père J. Fontaine, S.J. Paris: Retaux-Bray.

"De Historia Galliae, regnante Ludovico XIV." Latinis versibus a Jesuitis Gallis Scripta. Thesim Facultati Litterarum Parisiensi proponebat P. V. Delaporte. Paris: V. Retaux.

"De Merveilleux dans la Litterature Française sous le règne de Louis XIV." Thèse pour le Doctorat. Par P. V. Delaporte. Paris: Retaux-Bray.

"The Life of B. John Juvenal Ancina." Edited by Charles Henry Bowden, Priest of the Oratory. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

"La Vie de S. Louis de Gonzague." Par P. Meschler, S.J. Traduit par l'Abbe Lebréquier. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

"The Co-operative Movement To-day" ("Social Questions of To-day"). By George Jacob Holyoake. London: Methuen & Co.

"Justice:" being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics. By Herbert Spencer. London: Williams & Norgate.

"An Introduction to Cudworth's Treatise concerning Morality." By W. R. Scott. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"How to Get On." By Rev. Bernard Feeney. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

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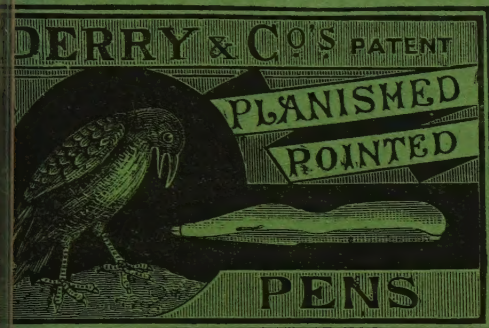
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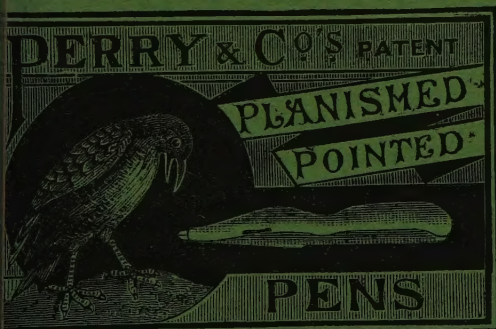
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